

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE MARRIAGE TAX



MR. LLOYD GEORGE: "I am sorry I can't relieve you of any of that burden, but if you like I'll cut it into two so that you can carry it separately."

(Mr. Lloyd George's new proposals are framed so that they do not reduce in any way the unjust Income Tax paid by married people.)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

We have the greatest pleasure in making an important announcement to our readers with regard to the future of this paper. The Proprietors of VOTES FOR WOMEN have offered to hand it over to the United Suffragists to become their official organ, and this offer has been accepted.

Effect of the Change

Our readers will not be slow to appreciate the advantages accruing from this arrangement, both to

the paper and to the organisation of which it will in future become the mouthpiece. The paper will have once more the solid backing and support of a powerful and rapidly growing society; and the United Suffragists will have an official medium by means of which they will be able to keep their own members and the outside public in constant and regular touch with the whole of their activities. The paper will remain under its present editorship and control until the early autumn, when the United Suffragists will take charge of all its departments.

Projected Tour of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence

Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence are availing themselves of this opportunity to pay a visit to countries in other parts of the world, including Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan, carrying with them the VOTES FOR WOMEN message and learning from personal contact the story of what women are doing in other lands. Though they are relinquishing their editorial posts, they will continue to give their strong support to the paper, and hope to contribute frequently to its columns.

A Retrospect

Nearly seven years have elapsed since the first issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN was published, on the initiative of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who at first financed and edited it. Originally a monthly paper

of a few small pages, with an insignificant circulation, it rapidly developed in the influence and number of its readers, and in April, 1908, seven months after its foundation, it was transformed into a weekly paper.

The Organ of the W.S.P.U.

In January of the following year (1909) Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence considered the paper was sufficiently established to hand it over to the Women's Social and Political Union, with which they were then intimately connected; and from that date it accordingly became the official organ of the Union. Its circulation still further extended, and in the following October it was found more convenient to alter the shape of the paper to its present dimensions.

An Independent Paper Once More

In 1912 the Editors were arrested, with other leaders of the W.S.P.U., on a charge of conspiracy, and the paper figured largely in the trial, which ultimately took place at the Old Bailey in May of that year. After serving five weeks of the nine months' sentence they were released in consequence of a hunger strike, and journeyed to Canada to recruit their health. On their return to England to resume their work in connection with the W.S.P.U., a grave difference of opinion occurred between them and the other leaders of the Union which resulted in a

severance; Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence retiring from the W.S.P.U., and resuming entire control of **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, for which they became again financially responsible.

What It Stands For

From that date till now the paper has been independent of all suffrage societies, and during that time it has been the endeavour of the Editors to give equal prominence to the activities of every section of the suffrage movement. A special feature of its news columns is the full account given of the rapid strides which are being made by women all over the world; while in its editorial columns it lays at the door of the Government the blame for all the signs of unrest and disorder which are being manifested by women in this country. During the past year the paper has inaugurated the happy idea of publishing two double numbers—one at Christmas and the other in the summer—to which some of the most distinguished writers and artists of the day have generously contributed. The Editors have every confidence that under its new management all the best features of the paper will be preserved and extended.

Income Tax of Married People

Mr. Lloyd George's new proposals for dealing with the income tax of married people were being discussed in the House of Commons on Wednesday last as we went to press. Mr. Lloyd George has refused the simple and just plan recommended by us of treating husband and wife as separate financial personalities, and has retained the system of aggregation of income for the purpose of abatement, graduation, and super-tax. He therefore leaves intact the imposition which several of the daily papers—following our nomenclature of last September—have dubbed "the marriage tax."

A Crafty Proposal

The change which Mr. Lloyd George actually makes is to enable either husband or wife, after special application, to make out their own return of income, to be given a separate assessment, and to recover themselves that portion of common abatement which has been paid on their part of the aggregated income. Simultaneously, the tax collectors obtain the right to distrain on the goods of the wife for non-payment. The effect of the new proposals will be, therefore, to bring the wife into the direct mesh of the tax-collector for the first time, without relieving her or her husband of any of the weight of the tax. The full text of the proposals will be found on page 628, and our comment is given in our leading article.

Irishwomen and Home Rule

No amendments have appeared so far upon the order paper of the House of Lords to the Irish Amending Bill with the object of conferring the franchise upon Irishwomen for the Dublin Parliament. There are, however, among the Peers, spiritual and temporal, many who profess to be strong suffragists, and we look to them to justify their position by putting forward and pressing by every means in their power an amendment of this nature. If they fail to do so we shall have no alternative but to conclude that the Lords, like the Commons, are prepared to give lip service to the cause only when there is no prospect of it being converted into reality.

Protest Against Forcible Feeding

We give elsewhere extracts from the correspondence which has taken place between the Bishop of London and Mr. McKenna with regard to the question of forcible feeding, in which the Bishop makes it clear that however much he disapproves of militancy he is thoroughly opposed to the practice of forcible feeding, which he is careful to distinguish from the totally different practice of artificial feeding in hospital which is sometimes resorted to with the object of saving life. A memorial protesting against forcible feeding has also been signed by Rev. R. J. Campbell and many other well-known Free Church divines.

Action of Medical Men

Very significant also is an exceedingly weighty and well-reasoned manifesto published on Wednesday by a large number of medical men; the original document has been sent to the Home Secretary, together with a request, that it would seem impossible for him in so grave a case to refuse, that he will grant them an interview. The *Manchester Guardian* refers to this matter in a very able and uncompromising leading article, condemning forcible feeding as nothing less than the revival of torture such as "the thumb-screw and the rack," and ending with the significant words: "Let our governors see to it, or let the public see to them."

A Revolting Atrocity

From Glasgow comes news of a revolting atrocity, said to have been inflicted on one of the suffrage prisoners by the prison authorities. If the statement made by Miss Gordon, which we print elsewhere, be correct, and we have no reason to doubt it, in view of the confirmation afforded by the examination afterwards undertaken by her own doctor, the facts are such that every decent man and woman must join with us in insisting that an end be put once and for all to the whole system with which Mr. McKenna deals with the suffrage prisoners.

United Suffragists' Great Meeting

The United Suffragists held a great meeting in the Kingsway Hall last Tuesday evening. Every seat was paid for, and large numbers of people who wished to be present had to be turned away for lack of room. Inside the hall the greatest interest was shown in the proceedings, particularly in the announcement made by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence as to the personal position of herself and her husband, who are joining the United Suffragists and handing over this paper to become the organ of the Society. The chair was taken by Miss Lena Ashwell, and the other speakers included Mr. Henry D. Harben, Mrs. John Scurr, the Very Rev. B. Jarrett, and Mr. Henry Nevinston. Over £450 was contributed to the campaign funds.

What the Labour Party Might Do

Two events in Parliament during the past week have illustrated the power which the Labour Party possess if they would only use it to strike a blow at the Government so long as it refuses justice to women. The first was the division on the Budget Guillotine, when the Government majority fell to 23. A strong "cave" of Liberals who absented themselves from the division produced this result. These men did not mind jeopardising the fate of the Government to their views. The Labour Party could at any time take a similar stand on the Votes for Women question with still more damaging result, but they have never availed themselves of the opportunity. The other illustration is that of the strike at the Woolwich Arsenal. Mr. Will Crooks, with the Labour Party behind him, made representations to Mr. Asquith which appear to have speedily produced a satisfactory solution. When will the Labour Party make similar representations about woman suffrage?

Items of Interest

Representatives of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa were holding an "Over-seas Conference" in London on woman suffrage on Thursday after we went to press. Mrs. Chapman Catt and other foreign suffragists are also in London this week, arranging for the Conference of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance in 1915.

The Belfast City Council, by seventeen votes to five, declared on July 1 in favour of granting the Parliamentary franchise to women on the basis of the Local Government register. This is the ninth Irish Corporation which has passed a suffrage resolution.

The Men's Political Union are holding a meeting in the Kensington Town Hall this (Friday) evening at 8 o'clock.

By a decision adopted on "the initiative," the State of Missouri will be included among the six States in which a referendum will be taken in November next on the question of woman suffrage. The other five are Montana, Nevada, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska.

TO THE FRIEND OF WOMAN*

Christ! the Christ of fragile woman,
Omnipresent, never-sleeping,
Swift to understand and pity—
Do You hear the women weeping?
Do You see the fallen lilies
Over which the snake is creeping?

Christ! of woman born and nurtured,
Do You hear the mothers wailing
In the slums of every city
For their children starved and ailing?
Do You know the strife and sorrow,
Christ, Whose love is never-failing?

Lord of purity and pardon,
Do You see the women sinning
As did Mary Magdalene?
Do You see their tempters grinning,
Shine of gold, and destitution?
They were white in the beginning.

At Your feet I kneel for woman—
Hear me weeping for each daughter
Who throws back God's gift of living,
Seeking refuge in the water
(Perfect Man, O hear me pleading!)
From the wrong that man has wrought her.

Hear a woman, frail and human,
Crying for her sister-woman!

Teresa Hooley.

* This poem appears in a volume of verse, "Gloom and Gloom," (Published by Messrs. A. C. Fifield. Price 1s.)



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We share the belief of the publishers of "Votes for Women" that their readers will respond to our announcements, and we would ask all those who buy at our Galleries to kindly mention the name of this paper.

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ATROCITY IN A PRISON

Revolting Treatment of a Suffragist in Scotland—Shocking Story—Public Protest Needed—Mr. McKenna and Mr. McKinnon Wood Must Go

Amongst every section of the community is spreading a deep horror with regard to the practice of forcible feeding carried out upon suffragist prisoners. Medical men and women, the Bishop of London and other clergy, ministers of the Free Church, and others have appealed to the Home Secretary to put a stop to this disgusting method of coercion. Up to the present time forcible feeding has been carried out by the injection by force of a tube into the stomach by a passage through the nose or the throat. Now, in addition to this form of torture, the practice has been initiated in at least one case of injection by force of a tube into the bowels.

Miss Frances Gordon, a suffragist prisoner sentenced on June 23 to twelve months' imprisonment for attempted arson, after having been subjected to this treatment for some days, was released from prison in Perth on July 3, and was conveyed, under the charge of a prison medical officer, back to her friends in a condition more dead than alive. She was thereupon committed to the medical care of Dr. Mabel Jones, M.D.Lond., who has sent us the following report for publication.

THE DOCTOR'S REPORT

Released about 5 o'clock on Friday, July 3, having been in prison from June 22. On 24th forcible feeding began twice a day, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th. On 29th inst., in morning, Mr. P. G. Stewart, J.P., went to see prisoner. Injection into bowel given, which made her drowsy—she felt stupefied and unable to speak to him. Not fed at all that day, but from then until released had injections into bowel three times a day—never retained—as well as forcible feeding twice or once a day. Never allowed to see what was injected—told it was salt and water to do her good—but it returned, she said, black, and clothes which she brought out with her are stained with dark green stain. This will be analytically examined. She was allowed to see soap and water enema which were given, but never this. When asleep she was dragged to the edge of the bed on her side and the injections given by wardresses. The quantity of food given by the tube had to be diminished every day—it was never retained—given even when she was being sick. One day she was vomiting till when the doctor wanted to feed her. He was very impatient; said, "Come away, come away; you are bilious, all out of order." Went on with preparations—she begged for a minute to be allowed to wash out her mouth. This was given, and he put his face close to hers and whispered, "Drink some, drink some; no one will know; I won't tell." This was often done.

Like a Famine Victim

Seen at midnight on July 3 her appearance was appalling—like a famine victim—the skin brown, her face bones standing out, her eyes half shut, her voice a whisper, her hands quite cold, her pulse a thread, her wrist joints were slightly swollen, stiff, and painful—this not from rough handling, but from poisoning. The breath was most offensive, unlike anything I have smelt before, and the contents of the bowel, over which she had no control, smelt the same.

(Signed) Mabel Jones (M.D. Lond.).

No additional words can intensify the horror of this prison atrocity, as it is described above in the terse terms of a medical report.

It will be remembered by those suffragists who lived through the early days of the militant movement, that when this method of injection was mentioned in the action brought by Mrs. Mary Leigh against the Home Secretary for injuries sustained by forcible

feeding, the Lord Chief Justice himself expressed the utmost horror of rectum feeding, and uttered regret that such a possibility had even been alluded to in the court.

The perpetration of such an atrocity upon a helpless woman prisoner is not to be tolerated in a country that is sensitive of its reputation and honour. We believe that if the revolting facts could be brought home to the public a wave of righteous and passionate indignation would rise in the hearts of the people and sweep from office the two men responsible for this outrage—Mr. McKenna the Home Secretary, and Mr. McKinnon Wood the Secretary of State for Scotland.

Not a Day To Be Lost

It is the duty of all suffragists, as it is of every decent man and woman, whether suffragist or not, to bring the facts of this case to every Member of Parliament. Members should be interviewed at the House of Commons by their constituents and others, and they should receive letters on the subject demanding that a full investigation be made and the matter threshed out in Parliament. There is not a day to be lost. The same thing may be happening to other prisoners. The Bishops should be approached by deputations and correspondence immediately, and should be urged to bring the case before the House of Lords.

The passion of pity and anger that is roused by

this terrible story must be transmuted into terms of action. Otherwise it is a purely wasted force. If there are not enough men and women in this "democratically governed" country who can rise and put an end to barbarities that have never yet been tolerated in any civilised country in the world, then the people of Great Britain are sunk in materialism and are spiritually dead.

We believe that it is nothing but ignorance of the facts that holds them supine, and this ignorance every awakened mind must set itself to dispel.

A Rival to Nero and Bomba

Mr. McKenna, in his political capacity, has proved himself a fiend in human form—qualified to take his place beside Nero of Rome and Bomba of Naples. For the honour of the country, no less than for the sake of his victims, he must be driven from office. To visit upon his person the physical punishment that his cruelty deserves would not serve the cause for which Miss Gordon and others have endured such agony. The retribution must be a political one. The riddance of Mr. McKenna from office and the wholesale clearance of the Liberal Government that has driven a section of the most law-abiding people in the world into rebellion by incitement, persecution and cruelty, must be effected, in the interests of the nation and as a vindication of the most elementary notions of moral decency and humanity.

"THE KING'S THRESHOLD"

Although "The King's Threshold" by W. B. Yeats, was given by the Irish Players at the Court Theatre on one of the most sultry evenings of last week, it was followed with the greatest interest by those who had gathered to see it.

The setting of "The King's Threshold" is not particularly beautiful, as one might easily suppose, being only a flight of steps leading up to a veiled door. Stretched upon the steps lies the figure of a worn and haggard man, dying for the sake of an idea, the beauty of which is scarcely perceived by those who stand nearest to him in thought. In a fit of mean agreement with his Bishops and his Makers of the Law, the King has decided that the Poet of his Court, who had always sat by immemorial right at the royal table, must in future be content with a place of lower degree. After vainly pleading for the upholding of the ancient right, the poet has left the King's presence, and, taking up his position on the steps leading to the Palace, has refused to touch food or drink until the right for which he is fighting is once more established. For, wails the King:—

There is a custom,
An old and foolish custom, that if a man
Be wronged, or think that he is wronged, and starve
Upon another's threshold till he die,
The common people, for all time to come,
Will raise a heavy cry against that threshold,
Even though it be the King's.

While he is lying there
Perishing, my good name in the world
Is perishing also.

And so, saying he will grant the poet anything he likes to ask for, excepting just this old right, the King implores the pupils of the poet to make him renounce "his wild thought and proud will," and take food and drink. Blind at first to motives which are beyond them, the pupils play traitor to the master who has taught them all they know of beauty, and beg him to do the King's will and take food; for, indeed, have not the lovers of his music great need of him? But the poet answers that he is labouring for those that are yet to be born:—

That they may have voices,
Even in anger, like the strings of harps;
And how could they be born to majesty
If I had never made the golden cradle?

And so all pass before the dying poet, Court officials, princesses, dancing girls, monks, beggars,

common people, the maiden he loves, and the old servants from his boyhood's home, all tempting him, jeering at him, pleading with him; but all to no purpose, until the King is conquered, and owns at last that—

He has the greater power.

There is no power but has its roots in his—
I understand it now. There is no power
But his that can withhold the crown or give it,
Or make it reverend in the eyes of men,
And therefore I have laid it in his hands
And I will do his will.

And the poet replaces the crown upon the King's head, crying:—

O Crown! O Crown!

It is but right the hands that made the crown
In the old time should give it where they please.
O! silver trumpets. Be you lifted up,
And cry to the great race that is to come;
Long-throated swans, amid the waves of Time,
Sing loudly, for beyond the wall of the world
It waits, and it may hear and come to us.

It is a wonderful little play, full of poetry and pervaded by a mystic sense of some great developing force, of that divine urge which drives men on in spite of suffering, in spite of loneliness, to be the saviours and redeemers of the world. And the quaint little scene, with its flight of steep, bare steps, seems transformed into a vision of—

"the great world's altar stairs
That slope through darkness up to God,"

on every cloud-swept step of which we see some great soul wrestling with God and sorrow, passing on to smaller souls below the high thought and noble achievement, in the gaining of which their own hearts and bodies have been broken and crucified:—

"Oh! restless, restless race!
Pioneers! O Pioneers!
Watching on the hills of Faith,
Listening what the spirit saith
Of the dim-seen light afar
Growing like a nearing star.
Like the seer of Patmos gazing
On the glory downwards blazing;
Till upon earth's grateful sod
Rests the city of our God."

E. Savers.

THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT

Married Women and the Budget—Questions in the House—Action of Belfast Corporation—Press Condemnation of Government

THE TAX ON MARRIAGE

In the House of Commons on June 29, in answer to Sir Thomas Whittaker, Mr. Lloyd George said: "There is one incidental point in connection with the Finance Bill which I may now mention, and that is that I have promised the hon. and learned member for St. Pancras that there will be an opportunity for discussing the question of married women and income tax. In order to discuss the question raised by the hon. and learned member, it may be necessary to have a Money Resolution, as nothing can be done which does not involve some small shifting of the charge. The Government will move the necessary resolution, and will probably themselves propose a clause dealing with the matter."

On Wednesday, July 1, the Chancellor of the Exchequer repeated in the course of a statement to the House when in Committee on the Finance Bill, that it was his intention to put down a resolution on the Finance Bill with a view to enabling Mr. Cassel (St. Pancras) to raise the question of the income tax of married women.

On Thursday, July 2, when the question again came up in the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, again with reference to Mr. Cassel's amendment on this subject, that he proposed to put down a clause and move a resolution to the Finance Bill, probably on Monday, which would not go so far as Mr. Cassel's amendment, but would enable him to move an Amendment to the Government's Amendment and so raise the question.

We give the clause below; and the resolution, moving that it be "expedient to make provision in the Finance Bill for enabling Income Tax (including Super Tax) in the case of married persons to be separately assessed and charged on the husband and wife," was to be moved in the House on Wednesday after we went to press.

THE CHANCELLOR'S NEW CLAUSE

(1) If an application to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue is made for the purpose in such manner and form as may be prescribed by those Commissioners, either by a husband or wife, within six months before the commencement of any income tax year—

(a) Income tax (including super-tax) for that year shall be assessed, charged, and recovered on the income of the husband and on the income of the wife as if they were not married, and all the provisions of the Income Tax Acts with respect to the assessment, charge, and recovery of income tax (including super-tax), and the penalties for failure to make a return, shall apply as if they were not married; and

(b) All the provisions of the Income Tax Acts which relate to claims for exemption, relief, or abatement, and the proof to be given with respect to those claims, shall apply as if they were not married; and

(c) The income of the husband and wife shall be treated as one in estimating the amount to be repaid or allowed in respect of any exemption, relief, or abatement which depends wholly or partially on total income, and the total amount of any exemption, relief, or abatement given in respect of the incomes of the husband and wife shall not exceed that which would have been given if an application had not been made under this section; and

(d) The benefit of any such exemption, relief, or abatement may be given either by way of reduction of assessment, or by repayment of any excess of tax which has been paid, or by both of those means, as the case requires, and shall, in the case of relief given in respect of earned income, be given in proportion to the income earned respectively by the husband and the wife, in the case of relief given in respect of insurance premiums, be given to the husband or wife, as the case may be, by whom the premium is paid, and in any other case be given in proportion to the respective incomes of the husband and wife; and

(e) For the purpose of any exemption, relief, or abatement, a return may be made by the husband or the wife of the total income of the husband and wife, but if the Commissioners of Inland Revenue are not satisfied with such return they may obtain a return from the wife or husband, as the case may be; and

(f) The income of the husband and wife shall be treated as one in estimating total income for the purpose of super-tax, and the amount of super-tax payable in respect of the total income shall be divided between the husband and wife in proportion to their respective incomes, and the total amount payable shall not be less than it would have been if an application had not been made under this section.

(g) The Commissioners of Inland Revenue may require returns for the purpose of this section

to be made at any time, and section fifty-five of The Income Tax Act, 1815, shall, with the necessary modifications, apply in the case of the refusal or neglect to make or wilful delay in making any such return.

(4) Where income tax (including super-tax) is charged on the profits or income of a married woman, whether in the name of her husband or separately in pursuance of this section, the power to distrain in the case of non-payment of any income tax payable either by the husband or the wife shall extend both to the goods and chattels of the wife and to the goods and chattels of the husband.

(5) Section eleven of The Revenue Act, 1911 (which relates to the assessment and recovery of part of the super-tax from the wife in certain cases), shall cease to have effect; and section five of The Finance Act, 1897 (which relates to the exemption of the income of a married woman in certain cases), shall not have effect in a case where an application has been made under this section.

THE BELFAST CORPORATION AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

(From a Correspondent)

On Wednesday, July 1, the Belfast City Council, by seventeen votes to five, declared its approval of the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women on the basis of the Local Government register.

The discussion was interesting. Among the seven speakers who took part in it not one avowed himself an Anti-suffragist, and the three who opposed the resolution did so on the point of order. It is satisfactory that in the end the Council agreed with the speaker who considered that the Council should take notice of anything that concerned the welfare of the citizens of Belfast.

The result should go far to prove that neither militancy nor the present political situation are any justification for relaxation in the efforts of constitutional Suffragists. Political feeling could hardly be more acute than it is in Belfast just now; yet we find the Corporation willing to consider the question of Suffrage, even while armed Ulster Volunteers walk the city streets. Militancy in its most acute form has become familiar in Ulster during the last few months, yet we find one speaker declaring that it should not be made an excuse for voting against the resolution.

The Only "United" Ireland

The result is satisfactory from another point of view. Belfast has by this action placed itself in line with such important Nationalist Corporations as Dublin and Cork. Out of the nine Irish Corporations which have passed Suffrage resolutions five are mainly Nationalist, four mainly Unionist, and in every case, notably in Belfast the other day, the majority was made up of Unionists and Nationalists alike.

Is it not good that on one question at least Unionists and Nationalists should be able to meet, and this our own question?

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Still Waiting and Seeing

In the House of Commons last Monday, Mr. Toulton asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of his words of encouragement to the deputation of working women from the East End on June 20, when he stated that, if the franchise were to be extended to women, it should be on a thoroughly democratic basis and on the same terms as to men, it is the intention of the Government to give facilities for an amendment extending the suffrage to women on this basis, leaving it an open question to the free judgment of the House of Commons when next the Government fulfils its promise to introduce a Franchise and Registration Bill, to which they were pledged so long ago as 1908; or have the Government now receded from that pledge, or do they regard it as lapsed by effluxion of time?

The Prime Minister: I dealt fully with this matter in my speeches in the House on January 27 and May 16, 1913, and I can add nothing to what I then stated. I am not aware that anything that I said to the deputation on June 20 had any bearing on this subject.

Suffragist Prisoners

In the House of Commons last Tuesday, Mr. Wedgwood (Newcastle-under-Lyme, Min.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the report of Dr. Haden Guest as to the state of health of Nellie Hall had been brought to his notice; and, seeing that that report indicated that she was not in a fit condition to plead her own case and in consequence of the recommendation of the jury to mercy on the ground that those who paid

her ought to be in the dock instead of her, whether he would see fit to recommend her discharge.

In a further question Mr. Wedgwood asked whether Miss Hall had been undergoing forcible feeding for six weeks, and whether, now that she was convicted, she would be released under the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge) Act.

Mr. McKenna: I have not seen the report referred to. Miss Nellie Hall was convicted of an offence under the Explosives Act, and sentence was postponed until the hearing of another charge for which she is committed for trial. The prisoner is still refusing her food, and has, in the interest of her own life and health, to be forcibly fed, but the medical reports show that her general condition is satisfactory, and I am unable to recommend her discharge.

In reply to a number of supplementary questions, Mr. McKenna said that if Miss Nellie Hall had no counsel at her trial he presumed it was because of her own wish. So long as Miss Hall remained a danger to the public he was bound to keep her in prison, and, so long as he could, alive. If she would give an undertaking that she would not make use of her liberty under the "Cat and Mouse" Act to engage in further attacks upon property he would be very glad to release her. The position was the same as it was when he introduced that measure to the House. He then said that in the case of prisoners whose liberty was a danger to the public he should be compelled to avail himself of forcible feeding as a means of keeping them alive in prison.

Mr. Wedgwood: Are we to understand that those who merely smash windows are to be let out while those charged with harbouring bombs are kept in?

Mr. McKenna replied that in his judgment prisoners whose liberty was a danger to the public ought to be kept in prison.

Mr. T. M. Healy (Cork, N.E., Nat.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the Irish girl, Miss Grace Roe, was forcibly fed before conviction; and if so, whether this treatment had been previously practised on any of the suffrage prisoners; and could he say anything as to her present condition calculated to remove the anxiety of her relatives.

Mr. McKenna: The answer to the first and second questions is in the affirmative. Miss Roe has been awaiting trial until to-day. In the case of prisoners charged with serious offences it is necessary to feed them forcibly if they refuse food in order to ensure their being present to take their trial. I am informed that Miss Roe's condition gives cause for no anxiety.

LIBERAL WOMEN AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

So often has militancy been alleged as causing a "set-back" to Woman Suffrage that it is a pleasant change to find a candidate for Parliament urging another reason for this oft-mentioned phenomenon. At a Conference held at Southport on July 1, under the auspices of the Liberal Women's Suffrage Union, Mr. Horace Crawford, prospective Liberal candidate for the Southport division, sent a letter expressing sympathy with the aims of the new Union, and adding that he greatly regretted the weakness of the attitude of the Women's Liberal Federation in past years, as he thought it had contributed greatly to the set-back the cause had suffered.

This is, of course, what we have always said about those political women who prefer party to principle. While not admitting that the movement has been set back, we have always maintained that its progress would have been infinitely more rapid and militancy rendered unnecessary if Liberal women, who held the key of the position, had come out on strike in the mass.

General Election Policy

At the Southport Conference, Mrs. F. D. Acland submitted a resolution which seems to us the minimum of what even Liberal women calling themselves Suffragists should subscribe to. As reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, this resolution expressed "determination to work only for those candidates who will not oppose the passage of a women's suffrage measure, seeing that the denial of woman's claim to enfranchisement is incompatible with the progress of Liberalism."

In reply to a question suggesting that by so acting one might help to "let the Tory in," Mrs. Acland said that was taking a narrow view of the situation. The Labour members were pledged for women's suffrage, and if Liberal women gave their service for Liberal candidates without regard to the women's question,

they would simply widen the breach between Labour men and the Liberal party, and postpone the victory of their cause. The prospect at present was encouraging. Two-thirds of the present Liberal members had consistently voted for women's enfranchisement.

The speaker ended with a somewhat optimistic declaration that the Liberal Press were almost wholly on their side; and the resolution was carried unanimously.

BY-ELECTIONS

East Worcestershire and West Birmingham

Two by-elections are made probable by the death of Mr. Chamberlain, who had sat unopposed for West Birmingham since 1906. The *Times* understands that Mr. Austen Chamberlain has decided to carry out the formerly suggested arrangement by which he is to succeed his father as member for West Birmingham. To do this he will have to resign his seat for East Worcestershire. When we went to press it was understood that the two writs would be moved at an early date.

PRESS CONDEMNATION

WHY NOT NOW?

Under any circumstances forcible feeding is revolting, but in the case of Miss Nellie Hall, who was last week found guilty of harbouring bombs, the resort to forcible feeding was outrageous. . . . We wish it were immediately possible to find some way out of the present sickening situation. The Government ought, of course, to compensate the women for the failure to carry out its Reform Bill pledge by itself introducing a measure to enfranchise women, but we are afraid the Cabinet has not a sufficiently developed sense of honour to justify the remotest hope that it will do so. The most practicable thing we can do is to strive our utmost to see that the next Government shall be forced to face this issue in the early stages of the next Parliament.—*Labour Leader*.

THE BISHOP'S LETTER

While honouring him for his protest against forcible feeding, we would remind him that it is his duty to carry on the fight against this torture incessantly on to the floor of the House of Lords. Neither he nor any of his brethren have the least right to remain passive a single moment while one woman is being tortured in this abominable manner.—*Daily Herald*.

IF—

The time has now come when the Home Secretary, if he will not voluntarily relinquish the power he now possesses, must be deprived of it by Parliamentary vote. We trust that Anglican clergymen and Free Church ministers, and also laymen throughout the country will support the Bishop and the Nonconformist leaders in the important step they have taken. We are confident that if forcible feeding is abandoned and the Liberal leaders pledge themselves to introduce a Government Bill militancy will cease and a brighter era dawn.—*Christian Commonwealth*.

"LET THE PUBLIC SEE TO THEM"

Forcible feeding, as carried out against resisting prisoners, is frankly a form of torture, and it is really as such that Mr. McKenna, so far as we understand his position, defends it. He says it is deterrent, and so it well may be, but so would be any other form of torture—the thumbcrew or the rack, or any other ancient and accredited method of inflicting intolerable pain; yet we do not now have resort to these methods, not even against women.

If it deters some it vehemently stimulates others, and on the balance it does infinitely more to keep alive than to discourage the movement against which it is directed. In a word, it is as stupid as it is cruel. Let our governors see to it, or let the public see to them.—*Manchester Guardian*.

FOUND OUT!

There is abroad a peculiar form of cant which is called chivalry. According to this theory, women are held up to our gaze as being ethereal beings, to be protected against every puff of wind and saved from looking upon horrible sights. . . . We imagine that much of the talk of protection is due to a fear on the part of men that they do many things of which they are really ashamed; and afraid of the logic of woman, they try to keep her away from "harm," because they cannot face her criticism. It would be better to throw up the sponge. O chivalrous one, for you have been found out.—*Daily Herald*.

FORCIBLE FEEDING SCANDAL

Condemned by the Bishop of London—Protests by Free Churchmen and Medical Men

In a communication to the *Times* last Monday, the Bishop of London explains his position with regard to the Suffrage movement, to the militant campaign, and to forcible feeding. He states that he is in favour of a limited form of suffrage for women; that he is strongly opposed to militant methods; and that he uncompromisingly condemns the practice of forcible feeding. He publishes at the same time a letter to the Home Secretary, dated last February, in which he embodies these views, and reserves to himself the right of publishing it should forcible feeding be again resorted to. This he has now done, together with the Home Secretary's reply.

THE BISHOP'S LETTER TO THE "TIMES"

July 6, 1914

The Bishop's letter to the *Times* opens with the words: "As I find that the idea has got abroad that I in some way condone militancy, I ask you to allow me to repeat statements made by me in your columns on the subject during the last nine months."

Dr. Ingram then quotes from former utterances of his own in which he expressed his strong disapproval of militancy, proceeding to say that his feeling in this direction has been strengthened by the recent burning of churches, and other actions.

"It is impossible, therefore," he continues, "to imagine a stronger 'anti-militant' than I am myself, and if sympathy crept into my voice when I was speaking at Queen's College, Harley Street, it was not sympathy with the methods, but with a poor girl lying between life and death whom I had been visiting in a nursing home on my way to the college, and the memory of whom made me feel 'the pity of it,' and what Lord Lytton described in the House of Lords as the waste of the noble qualities of courage and self-sacrifice."

Forcible Feeding "Wrong in Itself"

"And it is just because I am so strong an anti-militant that I am anxious our own weapons shall not be tainted, and I feel bound to renew the protest which I made privately to the Home Secretary on the subject of forcible feeding. I am convinced—as I stated in my letter after visiting Holloway—that it is carried out as humanely as it is possible to carry it out by the doctors and nurses, but, as I represented to the Home Secretary in the letter I now ask you to publish, I believe the thing is wrong in itself."

Incompatible with Christian Civilisation

"All analogies drawn from the peaceful feeding of invalids or of the insane are false when applied to resisting and struggling women. The process, if continued for any time, seems to leave them physical and mental wrecks which it is incompatible with a Christian civilisation to allow."

"I am making no complaint about drug-ging, as I have it on the authority of a physician whose word I accept, that nothing is given except medicine essential to their health; but I feel I should not be honest, while I am writing on the subject, if I did not protest against this particular method of putting down militancy as well as against militancy itself. I believe it should cease, and the reasons I have given in my letter to the Home Secretary. If you have space, I would add one more word; our sympathy should go out to that great and law-abiding army of women who for years have endeavoured to obtain the vote by constitutional means. They may expect more from it than they will obtain, but I endeavoured to express their hopes and aspirations in the House of Lords, and who shall say that their hope to better the condition of women and children of the future is not a noble one?"

Clearing the Air

The Bishop concludes by saying: "I have every intention of continuing to support their cause to the extent to which I have at present committed myself to it, and am grateful to you, sir, for allowing me to 'clear the air' of any misconceptions as to the spirit in which I am doing so."

THE CORRESPONDENCE

Letter to the Home Secretary

The correspondence between the Bishop and Mr. McKenna is then given. In his letter to the Home Secretary dated February 16, 1914, the Bishop gives an account of his interviews with women who had been forcibly fed, including Miss Mary Richardson, whom he describes as "a very quiet, sensible-looking girl, a lady, and a religious girl who had persuaded herself that she was in this way fighting for the welfare of oppressed women and children," and also Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "a very calm, collected, and evidently able woman." He further sends Mr. McKenna statements by Dr. Flora Murray, Dr. Frances Ede, and Miss Richardson.

The Bishop's Conclusion

"I must tell you," proceeds the Bishop, "that, so far as my opinion is worth anything, I have been convinced that we are not justified in treating delicate women in this way." And he adds that all analogies drawn from the forcible feeding of lunatics or artificial feeding in hospitals are, in his opinion, false, and submits that while he sees the women cannot be "set free unconditionally," he believes "it would be more humane to allow the prisoners to refuse food and then, if they reduce themselves to a state of weakness by this course of action, to release them for a time under the Act which, I had imagined, was passed for the express purpose of making forcible feeding unnecessary."

"I Have Liberated My Soul"

"Be that as it may," he continues, "I have liberated my soul on the subject. I am keeping this letter private as I do not wish to embarrass you in your difficult task of combining mercy with justice, but I have to reserve the right some day to make it public if it is thought necessary to continue forcible feeding, as my two letters which have been published have been wrongly taken as a justification of it, which they were not intended to be."

Explanation of Militancy

The last paragraph of the Bishop's letter repeats his condemnation of militancy, but also explains it as follows:—

"But meanwhile I think that we, on our parts, must remember that most of them sincerely believe that they are embarked on a moral crusade to prevent the repetition of foul deeds done by men to innocent children (we have, as you know, many homes full of these injured innocents) and to women who have been driven by poverty or misfortune to become the victims of men's lusts, and that the acquisition of the vote for women is the one and only chance of effecting this deliverance, and that the keeping their demand in some striking way before the country is the only way to prevent themselves from being cold-shouldered out of the way."

A Postscript

In a postscript, Dr. Ingram adds:—"If you feel doubtful about the value of the evidence I am submitting to you, let me suggest at least that before forcible feeding is resorted to again, a committee of five leading doctors and surgeons should be appointed, of which one at least should be a woman surgeon like Mrs. Schachtel, and another a woman doctor, to report to you on the whole matter."

THE HOME SECRETARY'S REPLY

In his reply, dated February 17, 1913, the Home Secretary begs to be excused from going into detail with regard to the Bishop's arguments or the statements enclosed by him. He had received several similar statements during the last two years, "and on inquiry I have always found they were inaccurate in detail and grossly exaggerated in their general effect." As to the arguments, they had been fully answered in the House of Commons and in the Press.

"The Insuperable Difficulty"

"No one," continues the Home Secretary in his letter, "can have a stronger dislike to forcible feeding or be more anxious to see it cease than myself—unless, indeed, it be the medical officers of the prisons whose painful duty it is to carry it out; and the only reason why it continues is the insuperable difficulty of finding any complete alternative. As you know, I induced Parliament last April to pass the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act, which has provided in most cases another mode of dealing with the prisoners who refuse their food; but I stated at the time, and experience has proved, that that Act would not enable me to release from custody women who had been guilty of arson and other serious outrages and who were known to intend to repeat such outrages as soon as they were released. If anyone can suggest any suitable method of dealing with such cases which does not involve forcible feeding our difficulties will disappear."

The Suggested Committee

Mr. McKenna proceeds to reject the Bishop's idea of a committee. "Do you propose," he asks, "that the question on which the committee is to report should be whether the process of forcible feeding is now carried out properly and humanely by the medical officers of the prisons?" On this matter he has been fully reassured by "a distinguished physician whose experience of forcible feeding in asylums is exceptionally wide and who has repeatedly been present when forcible feeding has been carried out in prison," and who has spoken "in the highest terms" of the way in which the medical officers and wardresses did their work.

"On the other hand," continues Mr. McKenna, "if your idea is that I should ask the committee to devise an alternative to forcible feeding in the case of prisoners who cannot be released because of the certainty that they would immediately engage in the commission of fresh crimes and outrages, I fear their labours would be wholly fruitless. Innumerable suggestions on this subject have been made during the last few years, but none of them on examination has proved to be practicable. If any practicable suggestion can now be made, I should be glad to adopt it at once without waiting for the inquiry and report of any committee."

His Final Apologia

"In conclusion, may I point out once more that it is not I nor the prison authorities who are responsible for the necessity of the use of forcible feeding in prison? It is the women themselves who, by their refusal of food, have imposed upon us this distasteful necessity. Their refusal cannot be said to be based upon conscientious grounds, for they have been perfectly ready to take or to refuse food as the policy of the moment appears to them to dictate, but they are actuated solely by their purpose to render difficult the enforcement of the law and to bring the administration of justice into contempt."

A FREE CHURCH PROTEST

The following memorial, protesting against the forcible feeding of Suffragists, and signed by the most prominent Free Churchmen of to-day, has been sent to the Prime Minister:—

To the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.

Sir,—We, approaching this question not from the political but from the Christian and humanitarian point of view, regard with grave disquiet the increasing lawlessness of the community and certain methods which in one particular connection have been used to repress it. We refer to the forcible feeding of suffragists in prison. Forcible feeding is one thing as applied to passive invalids and lunatics, quite another as applied to a sane and resisting prisoner. There is abundant evidence that in the latter case it is acutely painful, frequently dangerous, and invariably degrading. It has been condemned in the House of Commons as "barbarous," "cruel," and "disgusting." These phrases were used just before the debate on the so-called "Cat and Mouse" Bill, and it was widely hoped and believed that when that Bill became an Act it would supersede forcible feeding altogether. Forcible feeding has, however, been revived, and is still being practised, even in the case of prisoners on remand before any charge has been proved against them.

It used to be said in defence of forcible feeding (a) that it made prisoners serve their sentences; (b) that there was no other way of doing so. In point of fact, it rarely if ever succeeds in that object: in nearly every case of forcible feeding prisoners have been let out, shattered in health and after great suffering, before the expiry of their sentences. As to (b), it obviously does not hold now that the "Cat and Mouse" Act is in force. Why, then, has forcible feeding been revived? It is not used merely as an alternative to the "Cat and Mouse" process: it is used in conjunction, so that the difference in treatment between one prisoner and another is that one has great pain inflicted on her and is more dangerously reduced in health before being released to reconquer for re-arrest.

Mr. McKenna has defended forcible feeding in the House not only as a means of detaining people in prison (Hansard, Vol. 61, No. 17, col. 403), but also as a deterrent (Hansard, Vol. 50, No. 7, cols. 889 and 890), as a means of terrorising people away from the hunger-strike, and so, presumably, from offences which are normally in the case of suffragists followed by the hunger-strike. This becomes more significant when coupled with his declaration in the House on June 11 last: "In my judgment, six or eight days of hunger and thirst strike, without food or water, is far more severe than two or three months' imprisonment under the ordinary conditions of prison life." "First of all they go through the hunger and thirst strike, and then they are forcibly fed. That is continued as long as their healths will stand it."—Hansard, Vol. 68, No. 75, col. 525.

We do not deny that in some cases forcible feeding may have been effective as a deterrent; but, speaking broadly, it is not deterring, but is exasperating women to ever more dangerous acts of violence. Even if it did deter, the employment of a "barbarous," "cruel," and "disgusting" punishment to deter people from crime is nothing more nor less than torture.

The extension of the suffrage to women is a political matter in which we are not directly concerned. But as citizens and as Christians we are most passionately concerned at the growth of anarchy and social unrest. We do not believe that if public opinion had realised what forcible feeding involved, it would have tolerated it at all. At any rate, we cannot tolerate it. We regard it as a dangerous and exasperating element in the present deplorable state of affairs, and we cannot stand silently by and see Parliament adjourn, possibly over a period of many months, while forcible feeding is going on in English prisons. We assure you that the growth of public bitterness and resentment over it among otherwise peaceable and law-abiding women is the greatest social danger of our time, and we appeal to you, whatever other action may or may not be taken over the suffrage question, at any rate immediately to remove this reproach of forcible feeding from our national life.

It is a cardinal principle of statesmanship that punishment of political offence should go hand-in-hand with redress of grievances. At all times and in all places in the history of the world where the grievance of exclusion from citizenship and equality has been so keenly felt in the excluded class as to lead to violence, coercion has failed to do anything but inflame, embitter, and prolong that violence. We believe it is scarcely supposed by anyone that women can be permanently excluded from citizenship. The question at issue is rather how far public feeling is to be embittered and outraged before the question is settled.

We therefore venture, with due respect, to press that the forcible feeding of women should be discontinued.

(Signed)

R. J. CAMPBELL (of the City Temple),
R. F. HORTON (of Lyndhurst Road
Congregational Church),
W. E. ORCHARD (of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Enfield),
J. H. SHAKESPEARE (Secretary of the Baptist Union),
J. M. LLOYD THOMAS (of the Old Meeting House, Birmingham).

Sympathisers with the above who would like to add their signatures are requested to send their names to the Honorary Secretary, Forcible Feeding Protest, 133, Salisbury Square, E.C.

THE DOCTORS' PROTEST

The following letter, dated July 7, and signed by some seventy medical men from almost all parts of the British Isles, has been sent to the Home Secretary:—

Sir,—We, the undersigned registered medical practitioners, desire to lay before you our reasons for objecting to the operation of forcible feeding as carried out in his Majesty's prisons:

(1) It is an operation performed upon prisoners without obtaining their consent. In view of your statement that it is the invariable practice to obtain the consent of prisoners to an operation, we shall be glad if you will inform us why this practice has been departed from in the case of forcible feeding.

(2) Forcible feeding is being employed as a punishment and as a deterrent. On April 2, 1913, you assured the House that it would not be your intention to use the power of forcible feeding in the case of ordinary offences, such as window breaking, obstruction, and so forth, but only in the case of repeated offences and real danger to the public, thereby reserving it for selected prisoners. On March 18, 1913, you stated that the knowledge "that the medical officers would forcibly feed prisoners had a considerable effect upon the majority of them," illustrating the effect of this punishment if not its object.

(3) Forcible feeding is being inflicted not only in the case of repeated offences and real danger to the public, as you informed the House, but on prisoners who have never been convicted or even tried, and who are therefore innocent in the eyes of the law.

(4) Forcible feeding as carried out in his Majesty's prisons is a system of torture based upon violence, and depending for its success upon the infliction of pain. It has caused grave bodily injury in many instances, and it always leads to serious impairment of health.

(5) As registered medical practitioners we hold that it is against the best interests of the profession that medical officers shall be called upon to carry out a method of treatment which is a punishment intended to have a "considerable effect" upon other prisoners. We therefore request you to receive a deputation on an early date in order that our case may be presented to you.

ALL ALIKE!

By Lorimer Royston

They had met to talk things over very gravely indeed, and it was all so tremendous that you found yourself wondering whether even the birds would not stop singing in order to listen—but they didn't.

"Women," said the Very, Very Wise Gentleman, clearing his throat, "women have been selected by—ah—Nature for quiet and—ah—subordinate services entirely unconnected with Imperial questions. Yes. The truly logical mind can harbour no contrary conviction, I think. Women are fitted to serve."

"Quite so," said the Clergyman.

"Keep 'em down!" said the Very Young Man, rolling a fierce eye. "Eh, what? A girl's business is to look pretty, don'tcherknow? A girl doesn't want to go gadding about voting and all that sort of thing. I like a girl who knows how to do what she's told."

"Quite so," said the Clergyman.

"Women," observed the Profoundest-of-all Gentleman, "have no sense of responsibility, therefore their place is the home. Women have no judgment or mental balance, therefore their vocation is obviously the rearing of children. Women have no sense of order. Women are incapable of organisation."

"Quite so. Exactly," said the Clergyman.

"Does that old gentleman know all the women in the world?" asked a Child, wondering.

"Hush, dear," whispered the Underpaid Governess, "of course he does; he's in *Parliament*!"

"Women," said the Artist, dreamily, "are so practical: they are without sense of rhythm. Let women get the upper hand, and romance and beauty will pass away from us inevitably."

"Just so," said the Clergyman.

"Women," pronounced the Sturdy Man of Sense, "are sentimentalists and dependants. The practical realities of life are outside their little ken entirely. If we want an Empire of dreams and moonshine and barleysugar, let's hand the reins to the ladies, eh? Ha! ha!"

"True, true," said the Clergyman.

"Why does the Clergyman agree with everybody?" asked the Child.

"He has his living to get," said the Governess. "But you should not question the motives of the Church, my dear; it is disrespectful—almost irreligious. Real reverence listens; it does not ask reasons."

"Given women a finger in the pie," said the Tory Gentleman, frowning impressively, "and England's doom is sealed. Down she'll go. Women would all vote Socialist. Army and Navy would go to the dogs."

"Very serious indeed," agreed the Clergyman.

"The chief menace of a female electorate," opined the Liberal Gentleman, "lies in the fact that women are all Conservatives. We should have conscription on us in a week."

"A most important consideration that," said the Clergyman.

"There is no logical objection to the enfranchisement of women," said the Socialist, really very generously. "I have always maintained that, and I don't care who hears me say so."

"What do you do to support your opinion?" enquired the Suffragette.

"Do?" replied the Socialist, looking offended. "I keep on saying it, don't I tell you? If you women can't show a bit more gratitude when you are given some sympathy, you'll end by losing every friend you've got, and then you'll find yourselves in a nice fix!"

(The Suffragette, being a horrid-mannered person, laughs just here.)

"Women don't want to soil their hands with politics," said the Idealist. "Let them continue being our inspiration—our poems!"

"Women is muck," said the 'Bus Conductor. "A good 'iding is what these Suffrigitesses is askin' for. Vowts fer women! I'd vowt 'em!"

"A very good argument, too," said the Clergyman.

"I can't understand," said the Child. "Each of these gentlemen seems to think all women are the same, yet each describes quite a different sort. What does it mean?"

"They are Talking, my child," explained the Governess. "And that is what is so important to the country. Never mind about meanings."

PENAL METHODS

Society is still a long way from treating its outcasts with humanity. To-day, as in the past, ever since individual vengeance gave way to organised punishment by the State, officialdom goes blindly on its blundering way, committing, in the name of social order and discipline, crimes worse and more cold-blooded than those of any ordinary criminal. Mr. Ives, in his most valuable study* of penal methods and their failure, builds up a terrible indictment of man's cruelty to man, a cruelty which is as great in the incompetence, ignorance, and self-righteousness of comparatively modern attempts at reform as in the days when religious mania and superstition produced their inquisitors and witch-finders. He traces the theory and practice of punishment from the Middle Ages onwards, with many glances back into more remote times and customs, showing how revenge, from being individual and instinctive, was at last left almost entirely to the State. But revenge, being, as it were, standardised, remains none the less revenge, and humane judges to-day may have to administer laws that have their ignoble origin in ancient angers and lusts.

Professional legislators and unthinking democracies altogether lost sight of penal law origins, and looked upon punishments as remedial measures, whereas they are really only survivals, concessions allowed to unreasoning cruelty.

A machine is more cruel than a man, and things are done in the name of "principle" from which common human nature would shrink. As Mr. Ives says in a later chapter:

There was much that was fine in the olden-time ven-

* "A History of Penal Methods." By George Ives, M.A. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

detta. Ties of kindred, comradeship, courage, devotion, constancy, self-sacrifice. But the strong State can claim none of these qualities. Where private revenge would long ago have ceased for shame or pity, the State still torments with unappeased malignity.

Mr. Ives keeps clear of present politics, but women, who are face to face with the State's malignity to-day, may congratulate him on that sentence.

Another home-touch will be found in his chapter on the "Military Despotism," where he speaks of the impossibility of the prisoners obtaining redress for any prison grievance. To a Royal Commission in 1879 Major Griffiths said: "I always show the prisoner that I take the warder's part, but if I am at all doubtful about the matter I only admonish the prisoner!" A former prison inspector, who had invited complaints monthly from 5,000 prisoners for over fifteen years, recorded that he could not "call to mind a single case of well-founded complaint of ill-usage by any of the gaol officials."

The Governor of Strangeways—a prison known well by Suffragists—said before the Committee of 1894-5 that "whenever a prisoner brought a complaint before the visiting Justices he usually received punishment under all circumstances."

We read in this book the terrible tale of the various "penitentiary experiments," of the "model" labour, and the solitary cell system, introduced by self-righteous reformers who looked on the prisoner merely as "bad," as a sinner who must be made to repent; of the treatment of our banished convicts; of former methods of dealing with the insane; of the days of witch-hunting. In a short notice it is impossible to give any idea of the scope of this work. One can only say that everyone interested in prison reform should possess it. It is an excellent book of reference, most carefully compiled, with copious notes and lists of authorities. And in spite of its grim subject it is thoroughly readable. J. E. M.

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*"Transition." A psychological romance, By Lucy Re-Bartlett. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Price 6s.)

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"THE RIDDLE OF EGYPT"

As a nation, it may be that we are prone to exaggerate the benefits conferred by our "belligerent civilisation," and it is as well to look at the other side of the medal. The case has been very ably stated in an interesting work thoughtfully written by M. T. Symons, "The Riddle of Egypt." He leads us down through the centuries, from the days of the wise and beneficent teaching of the Afghan, Jemal-ed-Din, with his ideal of an advanced constitutionalism, past Napoleon's invasion and his defeat by the English, on through the trouble between Turks and Mamelukes till the appearance of Mohammed Ali. Here, in spite of many drawbacks, we touch on much that was good. Ali encouraged learning, made a favourable arrangement with Turkey, irrigated the land, and placed the country under desirable conditions, only to be reversed by his successor, Ismail. With Ismail began the system of taxation and foreign loans, which have since placed Egypt in the hands of speculators, have turned her into a big cotton market, and have enclosed her in a net of policy and commercial intrigue from which there is no escape.

From this point onwards, the book becomes increasingly absorbing. The British occupation, with its accompanying results, are simply but fully set out; there is no undue bias; only an evident desire to answer a perplexing problem, and if, at the end, we are left in doubt as to the ultimate advantages of the British rule, it is not because its merits are in any way belittled or disguised. But the author has to leave the riddle unsolved, and the volume, sincere, convincing, and balanced, as it is, in thought and workmanship, closes with a pregnant question:—

Egypt, according to science, has the possibility of rising to greatness. Is England, through blundering or otherwise, to be a permanent stumbling-block in her way?

Ev.

"CUPID'S CATERERS"

This book is well and firmly written. It is remarkable for the strong light turned on a section of the Press which caters for a particular class, and which, by the circulation of mawkish literature, creates the millionaire proprietor; while, under the guise of a sympathetic "editress," questions are answered by those men who exploit the credulity of their readers.

The human interest of the novel is sustained throughout, and we are shown not only the vicissitudes of the characters themselves, but the entire system of this cheap Press. We realise the conditions of the underpaid underlings who carry out the scheme; we catch the unutterable humbug of the whole thing; we watch the more fortunate writers who can make their own terms, and lastly, the men who draw their thousands out of the concern. All this and more makes this study worth reading and thinking over; it is a searchlight thrown on another sweated industry.

Every woman's journal which exists is an insult to women; to their intelligence, to their common-sense, to their very self-respect.

These are words of the hero in regard to this particular form of journalism; and he adds: "They (the women) don't see it."

Perhaps they do not all see it yet; but in this, as in other feminist matters, the "seeing time" is not far off, a time which, as the hero points out, the suffrage papers have ushered in.

Ev.

INSURANCE FOR WOMEN

It is a sign of the times that one of the great insurance institutions has determined to cater for the professional and business woman.

Hitherto women of the middle class, who were earning their own living, have found it impossible, except in isolated instances, to effect an insurance which covered all forms of disease as well as accident. The reason offered by the insurance companies has been that the diseases of women were too wide and vague to admit of the necessary verification. Now that women in larger and larger numbers are entering the professional and business world, the demand for an insurance covering these risks has become more and more insistent, and at last a policy has been arranged for by Mrs. Shelley Gulick, of 16, St. Helen's Place, E.C., through a firm at Lloyd's, which should meet the requirements of women in these particulars.

Among those who will be entitled to benefit under it are women doctors, nurses, journalists, dress-makers, milliners, bookbinders, teachers, masseuses, gymnasts, pharmacists, secretaries, actresses, typists, and others.

The policy will be found, on examination, to bear out the contentions of its promoters, and to cover all forms of disease except that of pregnancy itself and diseases or disablement arising therefrom. This exception is, of course, necessary, as otherwise the premium charged would be prohibitive to the unmarried women, who would have to pay for the compensation given to their married sisters in childbirth. As it is, the premiums charged appear to be reasonable, and the policy should be popular among those who are dependent on their health for earning their living.

*"The Riddle of Egypt." By M. Travers Symons. (Frank Palmer, 12-14, Red Lion Court, London. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

†"Cupid's Caterers." By Ward Muir. (London: Stanley Paul Press, 6s.)



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FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1914.

THE MARRIAGE TAX

After waiting for nearly two years Mr. Lloyd George has at last brought forward his proposals for reforming the income tax of married people. With characteristic ingenuity he has so constructed them that while appearing to put matters straight, in reality he leaves the principal anomaly and injustice unredressed.

The law, as it has been up till now, was a survival of the old custom of regarding the wife as a mere appanage of her husband, who could not own property or possess income. The husband, therefore, when called upon to state the whole of his income, was naturally compelled to include the income which came to him through his wife. Then the Married Women's Property Acts were passed, by which a wife became entitled to separate estate, and a husband was not allowed any direction or control over his wife's income. But the incomes of husband and wife were still aggregated together and treated as the income of a single person for the purpose of income tax.

From this date the whole income tax procedure with regard to married women became anomalous and unjust both to husband and to wife. But the injustice was not felt very much at first, partly because the Married Women's Property Acts applied only to women married after they were passed (and therefore the majority of women were still subject to the old regime), and partly because the income tax was small, and the modern graduations and abatements were not in operation. To-day, with the income tax standing at 1s. 3d. in the pound, with abatements up to £700 a year, with graduations from there up to £2,000, and with super-tax above £2,500, the injury inflicted upon married persons by the present law has become exceedingly serious.

Without going into details of the present complicated system of income tax, it is sufficient to say that

the effect of the aggregation of the incomes of husband and wife is that they are called upon to pay a larger tax after marriage than before, when they were unmarried, and had not the responsibilities of a household to maintain. Or, to put it in another way, a man and his wife have to pay a larger tax than two brothers living together, or a brother and sister living together, or even than a man and woman living together, but not legally married. This additional tax may amount to nearly as much as £20 when their incomes are each about £400, and to a very much higher figure when larger incomes are in question. Last year Mr. Lloyd George admitted that this "marriage tax" amounted altogether to about a million and a quarter pounds, and in consequence of the alterations brought about by the present Budget the present total amount of the marriage tax is probably over two millions.

The obvious method of removing this injustice is the recognition by the income tax authorities of the simple fact that husband and wife are separate adult personalities in possession of separate incomes, each entitled to assessment, abatement, and graduation. Mr. Lloyd George has refused to take this course, and has instituted instead a complicated new procedure by which husband and wife may be assessed separately or together according as they wish, but in any case their incomes will be aggregated together for the purposes of graduation and super-tax or for the purpose of discovering whether they are entitled to any abatement.

The excuse offered for this treatment is that in spite of the present laws husband's and wife's incomes are not really separate. It is suggested that if the change we desire were made husband and wife would so adjust the amounts of their relative incomes as to cheat the tax collector. Now, if it were really true that the incomes of husband and wife were so inextricably bound up together that separation was impracticable, then the fair thing would be to allow them a double abatement and a graduation beginning at a much higher figure than in the case of a single person. This would bring to an end the present penalisation of marriage, and would place a husband and wife on rough equality with a brother and sister, or two other unmarried persons living together. But as a matter of fact the incomes of husband and wife are quite separable. It is only in a comparatively few cases that it would be possible for a husband to transfer any part of his income to his wife "in order to cheat the tax collector," and even in these few cases he would very rarely be prepared actually to do so.

It is further argued by Mr. Lloyd George, in defence of the present system, that a husband with an income of £1,000 a year, whose wife has nothing, ought to be precisely on the same footing as a husband with £500 a year, whose wife has £500 also. We maintain, on the contrary, that the two cases are quite different. Moreover, an exactly similar distinction is made at present where any two other persons are living together. If, for instance, a brother and sister are living together, and the brother has £1,000 a year, and the sister nothing, he pays income tax on his £1,000; while if the brother and sister each have £500, each are entitled to separate abatement. There is no reason whatever why the same principle should not apply to married people.

The real fact is that the principal sufferers by the present method of collecting income tax are the women, and because they have not got votes Mr. Lloyd George thinks he can snap his fingers at them just as he did over the Insurance Bill when it was under discussion. Those who want to see the income tax law properly reformed should therefore work together with us for the immediate enfranchisement of women. When this is achieved Mr. Lloyd George, or whoever may then be Chancellor of the Exchequer, will soon be compelled to straighten out this absurd anomaly.

SPEECH BY MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

"Votes for Women" to become the Official Organ of the United Suffragists—Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to join the Society

(Report of a Speech delivered by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at a Meeting of the United Suffragists in the Kingsway Hall, Tuesday, July 7th)

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence began her speech by alluding to the rumours current in the Press that the announcement which she had to make had reference to a possible truce of militancy. The wish was father to the thought. Politicians could ignore from one year's end to another a claim based upon argument, reason, and justice. Militancy could not be ignored. Hence their concern about it. The one and only cure for militancy was the removal of the cause of militancy.

"To Stop Militancy"

However, if people wanted suggestions as to the way of ending militancy she was prepared to offer three. First, the arraignment of certain men in high places who had done more to inflame militancy than all the leaders of the militant movement put together. There was Mr. Hobhouse, who made his speech at Bristol challenging women to commit arson if they wanted to be taken seriously. There was Mr. McKenna, who had prostituted his power as head of the Metropolitan Police, and had inaugurated police lynch law against women in the place of arrest and trial. The illegal and shocking violence of the police carried out under the aegis of the Home Secretary was the direct cause of the recent outbreak of destruction of property. The Cat and Mouse Act and the atrocious practice of the torture of forcible feeding of suffragists in prison had roused feelings of deep passion and had driven women to ever fiercer rebellion. Mrs. Lawrence referred to the case of Miss Gordon, and read the medical report reproduced elsewhere. In the face of such deeds, she said, it was no wonder that women and men were militant. The great miracle was the restraint that had been shown throughout the years of the militant agitation.

In the second place, let steps be taken to induce the Press to give a truthful representation of the greatness of the Constitutional agitation and the vigour of the popular demand behind this great question of Votes for Women.

But far more important was a third suggestion which taken alone would solve the problem that was puzzling politicians. The main thing, the real thing was for the Government to announce an Autumn Session for the purpose of redeeming their broken pledges and dealing properly with the greatest of all urgent political reforms. Everybody knew that the vote had to be given. Let it be given now, and all further trouble ended. Short of the immediate concession of Votes for Women, it seemed unlikely that there would be any cessation of militancy.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, proceeding, said: No! I wish that my announcement to-night had to do with a truce of militancy carried out on the lines that I have indicated.

A Development of the Suffrage Movement

It concerns rather a development of the suffrage movement as a whole, and the strengthening of every section of the agitation in this country.

As this announcement that I am about to make touches the action of both my husband and myself, it will be necessary to preface it with a few words of explanation as to events that have happened during the last two years.

The lapse of time that removes misunderstandings and heals personal wounds, enables me now to break a silence which up till the present time I have thought it necessary in the best interests of the movement to maintain.

It is two years and four months since I appeared on any platform as a responsible official of a great suffrage organisation. That happened immediately before the arrest of my husband and myself on a charge of Conspiracy in 1912. We were, as you know, subsequently imprisoned. Though placed, after some popular agitation, in the First Division as political offenders, you will remember that we adopted in prison a sympathetic hunger strike with our comrades who were not receiving like treatment; and were forcibly fed, being released only because the authorities feared that they could not keep us alive.

When we recovered sufficient strength we were anxious to meet the members of the W.S.P.U. at one of the usual public gatherings, but were dissuaded

from the idea by our colleagues, who pleaded that Mrs. Pankhurst was not yet strong enough to appear with us. We were urged to take a long holiday to recruit our strength and to reserve ourselves for making a public reappearance all together at the great Albert Hall meeting in October.

We acted on these representations and visited friends in Canada. During our absence our home was entered by bailiffs and a sale of our goods was ordered to pay the costs of the Conspiracy Trial of our colleagues and ourselves. Arriving at New York, we received the first letter from our colleagues since our departure, urging us not to return to England but to remain abroad indefinitely. The ostensible reason given to us was the evident purpose of the Government to ruin us financially. To this we replied immediately that no such consideration could affect us in our own determination to carry out this great battle for the emancipation of women. But on our return by the next boat we found that the decision of our colleagues to exclude us from further work in the Union was absolute. The reason now given was a political one. Actions taken during our absence, with regard to which we had never been consulted, had initiated a new development of the militant policy that would ultimately, they said, necessitate the W.S.P.U. going underground. In these circumstances it was necessary, in the opinion of our colleagues, to dissolve the Committee, and invest all the control and all the finance in one sole leader, who should direct the movement from Paris. All discussion was swept away by the ultimatum of Mrs. Pankhurst that she would not appear with us on the platform of the Albert Hall meeting. At the same time, she offered us the meeting if we chose to conduct it by ourselves alone. We came to the conclusion that to create a crisis in this way would be to throw the Union to the wolves. The Press were hungry for anything that could be interpreted as disruption. Great as this movement is, there is not room enough in it for personal disputes or personal rivalries. Faced with the terrible situation, there was room for no other considerations except that the organisation which we had helped to build up should remain intact. We therefore resolved to leave the Union without appeal.

Turned to the Best Account

Yet in a world-wide movement like this, guided, as we believe, by the forces of destiny, personal sorrow and loss that at the moment seemed to sweep away the very foundation of life, can be turned, in the long run, to the very best account.

Looking back from this platform to-night, I can see that what seemed the bitter fruit of years of strenuous and absorbing devotion was but the seed from which far greater future development may yet spring.

I did not in 1912 start another society, although urged by many to do so, because I felt that for the sake of the movement and its ultimate good even the appearance of rivalry had to be avoided. My husband and I together resolved simply to stand by with our paper and other activities. Then came the selling up of our home, after which the Government, under an order of bankruptcy, seized the whole property of my husband and recouped themselves for the costs of the prosecution and trial of the W.S.P.U. leaders; and upon that followed the seizure of several thousands of pounds by the insurance companies to pay for the windows that had been broken in 1911 and 1912 by the W.S.P.U. Owing to the bankruptcy proceedings Mr. Lawrence was turned out of the Reform Club, of which he had been twenty years a member.

During the past two years, as our former colleagues had foreseen, the adoption of more drastic militant policy has forced the W.S.P.U. into underground channels and has led to the crippling by the Government of their constitutional campaign.

Now, it is absolutely essential to the welfare of the whole movement that as the militant section is driven underground, there should arise a strong intermediate party occupying a position between the revolutionary section and the party of peaceful persuasion—an intermediate party determined of front, strong of action, politically militant, and ready, if need be, to challenge oppression and set aside convention—yet with a stable organisation that remains above ground, and intact for constitutional agitation. Such an intermediate party has not only a

great and definite work of its own to accomplish, but it is also capable of becoming an immense strength to both the extreme wings of the suffrage army. A great truth that we need to realise is the fact that the growth and welfare of any section of the suffrage movement should mean the increased power of the movement as a whole.

The United Suffragists

Six months ago this intermediate suffrage party sprang into being. One has only to look at the names of the people connected with the United Suffragists to realise the possibilities of development that lie in this Society of men and women of brilliant and tested reputation in the suffrage movement.

This organisation has grown with amazing rapidity. Its influence is being felt in political and journalistic circles. It is proving itself a rallying ground for men and women who are prepared to yield absolute devotion to this movement, and yet from reason, conviction, or circumstances, are debarred from revolutionary methods.

To-night, in response to the invitation of the United Suffragists, I stand on this platform as a member of this Society, and a responsible official, having joined the Committee. I rejoice that the lonely furrow which it has taken more than two years to plough has now come to an end, and that my husband and I are once again free to work in full and loyal co-operation with colleagues with whom we are in wholehearted sympathy and agreement.

The Paper "Votes for Women"

As Proprietors and Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, we have offered the paper to the United Suffragists to be their official organ, and a means, we trust, of establishing the organisation on an even wider national basis. That offer has been accepted. Some of you will remember that in doing this we are but following the precedent already set in the history of the paper. We started the paper and kept it in our hands to begin with, until the W.S.P.U. was strong enough as a society to assume responsibility, and then we handed it over, and were asked to retain the post of Editors. When, in 1912, the paper was returned upon our hands, and the new organ of the revolutionary movement, edited from Paris, started upon its adventures, we resolved to keep VOTES FOR WOMEN going, since for various reasons we felt that the existence of the paper was essential to the movement as a whole. Now that the United Suffragists have established themselves as a strong intermediate suffrage party, bridging the gulf between the extreme revolutionaries on the one hand and the pure propagandists on the other, we are only too glad to make VOTES FOR WOMEN once more the recognised organ of a national organisation. There will be no immediate change of control. We shall not relinquish our personal interest in the paper; we shall continue to write for it and work for it.

A World Tour

A further development of plans prevents us from accepting the invitation to retain the editorship after the end of the summer. For many years my husband and I have desired to get into closer touch with the woman's movement all over the world. We have decided that the present moment offers the opportunity that we have been waiting for. During the coming autumn and winter months our plan is to visit the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan, in order to learn at first hand the conditions affecting women, to ascertain the progress of this world-wide movement in various countries, and to speak of the developments at home. We have been asked by the United Suffragists to act as their representatives and messengers. This we shall do, hoping to return in the early part of the next year, once more to throw all the energies of body and mind into the struggle at home, not only for the vote, but for the complete establishment of human equality and the liberation of the soul of womanhood into the full life of the body politic. For this regenerating movement calls for the dedication, devotion, and service of all men and women who desire to live for humanity. It is only accidentally a woman's movement. It presents to every spiritually awakened mind the greatest conceptions possible to human thought and the noblest ideals. It stands for the liberty of the mind and the release of the spirit. It stands for the fullest realisation of the duty of the citizen to the State, and for the noblest relationships between men and women—for the uplifting of the race. It means war against all evil physical and moral conditions—war against poverty, war against ugliness, war against ignorance, war against dirt of every kind, and war against disease.

It is worthy of enthusiasm, of life-long service, and of unstinting sacrifice.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on a Child

The *Shields Daily Gazette* (July 3) reports case of a café manager charged before the Bench of magistrates at Jarrow with having committed an offence against a nine-year-old girl at the café, to whom he afterwards gave threepence, telling her not to tell her mother.
Sentence: Fined £5 and costs.

Indecent Conduct to Two Women

The *Western Evening Herald* (June 16) reports case of a steam-roller driver charged at Crownhill before Colonel C. G. Swiney and Major J. O. A. Anstice with indecent conduct towards two ladies at Egg Buckland. There were no previous convictions, but it was stated that there had been repeated complaints of the misconduct of the man; another charge made against him by another lady was not proceeded with.

Sentence: Six weeks' imprisonment on each charge, three months' in all.

Torturing a Cat

The *Nottingham Evening Post* (June 26) reports a case of a plasterer who, suspecting that a cat had eaten his linnet, took the cat from its kittens, threw it against the wall, kicked it and placed it twice on a lighted gas-ring, where it finally died. He was charged before the magistrate at Tottenham.

Sentence: Fined £2 and costs.

BOUND OVER!

Considerable publicity was given in the papers on Sunday and Monday to the case of a City merchant who was charged before Mr. Paul Taylor, at the Marylebone Police Court, with "using insulting words and behaviour." In the evidence it was stated that he accosted a young woman who was walking along Marylebone Road at ten o'clock p.m., claimed acquaintance with her, refused to leave her when she said she did not know him, followed her some distance, took her by the arm, and called her "dear." She finally called a policeman, whereupon the defendant, it is alleged, tried to bribe the officer not to charge him. The defence was that he was short-sighted, and made an absolutely bonâ fide mistake in thinking she was someone else.

The magistrate bound him over in 40s. to be of good behaviour for twelve months, "as a warning to him to be very careful in future of his ground before he addressed himself to persons of whom he was not quite certain," thus accepting the man's defence in defiance of the evidence both of the lady and the policeman who arrested him. (See *Observer*, July 5.)

If He had been a Woman

We record this decision of the magistrate with the utmost indignation in view of the fact that if the defendant in this case had been a woman who spoke to a man, instead of a man who spoke to a woman, she would almost certainly have been given a term of imprisonment. On police evidence alone, at the Clerkenwell Assizes last August, before Mr. Lawrie, a woman was given three months' hard labour for soliciting, and at the same sessions, before Mr. Spokes, two other women, also for soliciting, were each given six months' hard labour for the same offence.

Yet there are still some people who think that the status of women in this country leaves nothing to be desired, and that woman is the spoilt darling of the law!

A Press Comment

The "Man in the Street" writes wrathfully in the *Daily Sketch* about the case recorded above, and says with truth: "This is not a thing to laugh at; it should make your blood boil."

It should. It does. And we further agree with "The Man in the Street" that young women have every right to be going about their business alone at night, and "it is the duty of the law to protect them from insult and to administer salutary punishment when they are molested." His final incitement, contained in the words that "every man with a chivalrous respect for women must make it his business to interfere when he sees a girl so molested—even to the length of bruising his knuckles on another man's teeth," is a rank militant sentiment far less than which a woman Suffragist would be indicted as "a robber and piller" under the Statute of Edward III. And like other militant actions, whether threatened or committed, this one would not be necessary if the Courts recognized (1) That the status of woman is equal to the status of man; and (2) That soliciting is at least as great an offence in a man as in a woman, and should therefore be met with the "salutary punishment" demanded by the *Daily Sketch*. There is every sign, however, that we shall have to wait for this regenerated state of things until women are fully enfranchised citizens.

A LITTLE OVERDONE

Seeing that Mr. Paul Taylor thought fit only to bind over the City merchant in question for grossly insulting a respectable woman, we are a little puzzled at finding that he said in the same police court, in the case of a maintenance order not being paid: "The law of this country stops at no

HEAVY SENTENCES

Theft of Sevenpence

The *Daily Citizen* (June 27) reports case of three men charged at the London Sessions before Mr. Wallace, K.C., with breaking into a dwelling house and stealing 7d. from the gas meter. There were previous convictions against all three.

Sentences: Two sentenced to 23 months' and 6 months' respectively; the third put back until next Sessions.

Stealing Two Bicycles

The *Observer* (July 5) reports case of a man charged before Mr. Sharpe at the Middlesex Sessions with stealing two bicycles. There were previous convictions for bicycle stealing. Mr. Sharpe likened bicycle stealing to horse stealing in the past, which had been severely dealt with because it meant robbing a man of his means of livelihood.

Sentence: Four and a half years' penal servitude.

Stealing Lead

The *Daily Citizen* (June 30) reports case of a labourer and a carman charged before the Common Serjeant at the Old Bailey with trying to steal the lead from a warehouse roof by ripping it off and rolling it up for removal. They were arrested after a struggle.

Sentences: Both sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

expense to enforce a woman's rights." Unfortunately, it stops very far short of doing her justice, or of enforcing justice against those who insult her or injure her person and honour.

THE STATE OF THE PARKS

We are glad to see that Mr. Greenwood, of the L.C.C. solicitors' department, speaking at Old Street Police Court last Friday on the increase of offences against children in the London parks, said he had been instructed to ask the Court to punish any offender brought there with the utmost severity.

As we have often said before, we do not advocate the imposition of savage sentences for any kind of offence. But we do demand that the standard of punishments should be readjusted so that the more severe sentences should be given to offenders against the person (especially of women and little girls), and not to offenders against property. And we maintain that if this proper sense of proportion had been maintained throughout the Courts, our public parks would not have become an unsafe place for little girls to play in unattended.

THE INSULT TO MOTHERHOOD

The crowning insult to our mothers—that they are not the legal parents of their own children—was once more accentuated in the Willesden Police Court last Saturday, when, according to the *Daily Telegraph* (July 6), a woman applied in vain for a vaccination exemption for her baby. She explained that, so far as she knew, her husband went down in the Empress of Ireland, but she had no means of proving his death. It was his wish that the child should not be vaccinated, and that was why she made the application.

The magistrate told her that the law did not recognise her as the parent of the child, and until she could prove the father's death he could not grant the exemption.

It is this kind of thing that brought the East End women to Downing Street three weeks ago, to demand the vote that should give them an equal status with their husbands.

ONLY A SUFFRAGIST

For thoroughly drenching a Suffragist with water from a fire hose, when she was trying to address a meeting at Mauchline Cross, the local firemaster, after an enquiry lasting three hours and a half, was sentenced by Sheriff Robinson at Kilmarnock Sheriff Court, to a fine of £2, or ten days' imprisonment.

We wonder what kind of sentence the Suffragist would have been given if the tables had been turned and she had drenched the firemaster with water from the hose? Or rather—we do not wonder—we know.

NO BAIL FOR SUFFRAGISTS

To feed unconvicted Suffragists by force, rather than give them bail, is an injustice that is aggravated by the fact that defendants charged with far worse offences than damage to property are almost invariably given bail. Such a case was that of a man charged at Lambeth, last Monday, with attempting to procure a girl for an improper purpose, and committed for trial for publishing an obscene libel, for sending an obscene libel through the post, and for attempting to incite another person to commit an offence. Very properly, the magistrate considered this defendant innocent until he has been proved guilty, and released him on bail. Why is this not done in the case of Suffragists charged with offences, not against the person or the reputation of the person, but against property? Is it because the Government wants to torture women?

APPOINTMENT OF WOMAN PRISON DOCTOR

An important appointment has just been made in the prisons, where Miss Selma Fox, M.D., until now superintendent of the Bermondsey Medical Mission, has been appointed superintendent and deputy medical officer of the Institutions for Women at Aylesbury, which comprise the Women's Convict Prison and Borstal Institute, the State Inebriate Reformatory for Women, and the Preventive Detention Prison for Women.

This appointment of a woman prison doctor, though tardy, establishes an extremely important precedent, and will be welcomed by all Suffragists, especially by those who from personal experience know how much the medical services of women are needed in women's prisons.

VOTES FOR CHURCHWOMEN

At the Canterbury Diocesan Conference last week the following motion was carried by a large majority:—

"That the qualifications of women electors of delegates to rural-deanery and diocesan conferences should be the same as those of men."

This decision was not arrived at without considerable discussion, which gave plenty of opportunity for ancient saws about women which would have done credit to the passengers in the Ark. Mr. George Marsham, who proposed the motion, was supported by Canon Horsley, and the opposition was led by the Dean of Canterbury, who began by saying that he thought the authority of St. Paul ought to be studied by the conference.

Proceeding, he made the remarkable statement that the presence of women made real debate impossible. He defied any man to develop the whole force of any subject if his antagonist was a woman, because he was checked at every moment by considerations of courtesy for the gentler sex, which, he hoped, would always continue to animate men.

IN AMERICA

UNITED STATES

Another Campaign State

According to the *Suffragist*, Missouri has been added to the list of campaign States in the American Union, and the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution will therefore be submitted to the Missouri electors next November, when the Suffrage fate will also be decided of Nevada, North and South Dakota, Montana and Nebraska.

What the Initiative Means

In some of the States it is possible to avoid, by means of the initiative petition, the wearisome business of passing the Suffrage Bill first through both Houses of the State Legislature, generally in two successive Parliaments. This is the case in Missouri, where the necessary 23,000 signatures have been secured to the initiative petition, which thus enables the question to be submitted straight to the Referendum next autumn. There is every hope, we are informed, that the Amendment will be accepted and that Missouri will become a campaign State.

CANADA

A Suffrage Tour

(From our Special Correspondent.)

On my last Sunday in Toronto I had an interesting experience. I was asked on June 7 to hold a service at the Girls' Rescue Home. Mrs. Howard Stowe accompanied me, and after hymns and prayer she read the Parable of the Talents, and took this as the text of my talk. I wanted these girls and women to learn to realise the splendid potentialities in woman, and I spoke much of the great awakening in the present century, the enlarging of the sphere of woman's activity by the removal of many of the old limitations, of the consequent revelation of her capacity. It was good to watch the faces of my audience as it dawned upon them one and all that there was much that each one of them could do in the world. I kept in mind Lady Constance Lytton's wonderful words in "Prisons and Prisoners," and tried to raise their self-respect instead of depressing them with the consciousness that they were "miserable sinners." The head of the Home has long realised the psychological truth underlying this suggestion, but I am afraid all visitors to Refuges are not equally broad-minded. Some people find it so much easier to preach down to their congregation than to lift up their hearts and to raise their hopes.

In Montreal

I had meetings arranged for every day and almost for every hour of my stay in Montreal. I stayed with Mrs. Henderson, an enthusiastic Suffragette and a probation officer. She was always a great social worker, and now has a public position and is able to help effectively.

The idea of the British Dominion Suffrage Union was taken up with enthusiasm, and every copy of *Votes for Women*

Fortunately, the majority at the conference held views about men and women of a somewhat later date than those we have quoted; and, pending ratification by the Representative Church Council, women now have some votes in the church on equal terms with men.

WOMEN ON BOARD OF MISSIONS

In the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, which met at Church House, Westminster, last Tuesday, the re-drafted constitution of the Central Board of Missions was unanimously accepted, which includes the co-option of twenty women among the 300 members of whom the Board consists. The Bishops of Oxford, London, and Bath and Wells spoke in support of the admission of women, the Bishop of Oxford only regretting that this was to be by co-option and not election. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in moving the adoption of the constitution, made a strong appeal from the woman's point of view, and paid a high tribute to their work in the mission field.

WHERE, INDEED?

In its editorial notes on the celebration of Dominion Day, and particularly with reference to Dominion Day Dinner, the *Canadian News* trusts that, next year—

"The committee which is responsible for the sending out of invitations to this dinner will have learned a little more chivalry and will have realised that without women and their inspiring help and ever-ready sympathy, neither Empire nor Canada would exist to-day. It is too bad to expect them to do a great half of the work and then in the hour of thanksgiving and rejoicing to tell them calmly that they can sit and wait at home and hear about it all from a sleepy husband who may, perhaps, have dined more well than wisely. And besides, it is bad policy. Suppose they turn round and say, 'All right, if you can do without us at your dinner you can do without us altogether, and can run the Empire by yourselves for all we care! And then where should we be?'"

WOMEN that I had brought was sold to eager applicants.

I was delighted to meet the sister of Miss Annie Kenney in Montreal, and she proposed the vote of thanks to me at the meeting. Her voice and manner of speaking reminded me of her sister, and she has much of the same personal magnetism.

Infant Mortality

In the evening of Tuesday, June 9, I spoke to a large meeting of about 600 men and women at the Y.M.C.A. Hall, and my audience listened most attentively for an hour and a half to the effect of the woman's vote in the lands where she is enfranchised. The decline in the infant mortality and the causes of the diminished rate in Australasia proved a matter of great interest to my hearers; in Montreal the rate is 200 in the 1,000, and the climate is certainly one that is more favourable to infant life than that of the lands under the Southern Cross. The questions were so numerous that we were obliged to bring the meeting to a close without having dealt with all of them, but the audience were told that there would be many future opportunities of gaining information. Copies of Suffrage papers were steadily sold, and new members eagerly joined the League.

First Open-air Meeting

On Thursday, June 11, Mrs. Henderson, my hostess, gave a drawing-room meeting, and in the evening we all adjourned to Phillip Square, where I addressed an audience of about 300 people from the pedestal of the statue of King Edward VII. As this was the first street meeting held in Canada, the papers tried to turn it into ridicule in order to prevent its repetition. The quiet attention of the audience was described as apathy, and the eager groups who remained to discuss the question after the speaker's departure were said to have been disorderly, while a policeman's intimation that it was long after ten o'clock was exaggerated into the assertion, printed in huge letters, "Police disperse the crowd." Personally, I was greatly surprised at the pleasant reception I had been given, as one of the papers had announced the meeting that morning under the heading "Ware Militancy," and had predicted that there would probably be rowdiness if this phase of the movement were touched upon.

General Impressions

I have spoken at fifty-five meetings since I left England on March 21, sold a large amount of Suffrage literature, inaugurated open-air meetings in Montreal, and made a great number of converts. My general impression of the prospects for Woman Suffrage in the Dominion is a very favourable one. I do not believe there will be any organised opposition to Women's Suffrage if there is a strong and insistent demand for it. The Provinces of the West will be enfranchised first, and I fear this Province of Quebec will be the last to give Votes for Women unless some energetic missionary from the Catholic League could form a union of her co-religionists.

Margaret Hodge.

June 27, 1914.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS' MEETING

At the Kingsway Hall, July 7

THE RESOLUTION

That this meeting, in view of the fact that the Government has trifled with the Woman Suffrage question, persecuted its supporters, and brought Great Britain into disrepute in the eyes of all intelligent people in our own Dominions and throughout the world, calls upon the Government to put a step to militancy by holding an Autumn Session for the express purpose of passing into law a Government measure to give women the vote on equal terms with men.

AN IMPRESSION

(From a Special Correspondent)

It seemed that the United Suffragists had done a notable thing when they succeeded in filling the Kingsway Hall at very short notice for their great meeting to demand an autumn session and the immediate enfranchisement of women; but, as it proved, where they failed was in finding room for the hundreds of people who were eager to be present and had to be turned away. It was a great meeting; the hall hung with the brilliant colours of the United Suffragists and crowded in every part, the platform massed with distinguished visitors and supporters, including representatives of most of London's suffrage societies; and it was an old-time audience, such an audience as one believes is not to be found to-day anywhere in the world but in England, so quiet, sympathetic and enthusiastic, so nervously responsive to the appeal of the platform, an audience that acted as chorus to the speakers.

Overseas Visitors

One mentally congratulated the visitors present, especially the International and Overseas delegates who are attending the two conferences now meeting in London, on seeing a great suffrage meeting at its best and most characteristic, and being able to note the temper, irreconcilable and determined, of the audience. Even the interruptions—which were frequent and free—were as characteristic as the intense sympathy manifested by the audience as a whole.

It was a great disappointment to find at the outset that Mrs. Yvette Guilbert, whose speech had been looked for so eagerly, was unable to be present, and the disappointment was even greater when Miss Ashwell quoted the comment made by the great actress's husband after he had been with his wife to a London theatre where they had seen a protesting suffragette ejected, and had been amazed at the treatment she received. "Since last night, we are militants." But after all, every other consideration faded in the intensity of the interest of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech.

It was two years since Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had appeared on the platform of any meeting as the responsible official of a great suffragist organisation, and Miss Lena Ashwell seized the opportunity in introducing her to mention very briefly the main facts in her career, her early association with work for women, her years of service among working girls, her natural championship of the suffrage cause, her connection with the W.S.P.U., her six terms of imprisonment. "It is with great pride," said Miss Ashwell, "at the close of a finely worded tribute to the work done, the suffering entailed during those years of militant service, 'it is with great pride that I call on Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to address you.'"

Mrs. Lawrence's Reception

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had a great reception; a reception worth waiting for, and she had the entire audience with her as she made her vigorous attack on the Government. They were stirred almost to madness by the plain-spoken, carefully colourless statement of the treatment that has just been meted out to Miss Gordon in a Scottish prison, the most outrageous of all the Government's assaults on women.

It was a ghastly story to be told before those representative women from overseas; one listened to it with their ears, and felt that England had reached the limit of her humiliation.

"What a thing in office is the man McKenna!" cried Mrs. Lawrence. "That he can suborn not only the police, but he can suborn officers of the medical profession." ("Why are not all women militant?" called a voice from the gallery.)

"The wonder is not that women are militant," said Mrs. Lawrence, "but that they are so restrained. Only one thing restrains them. We know that if that man were to get his deserts at the hand of any suffragist"—here one could feel the audience straining forward—"if that man were to get his deserts the cause for which Miss Gordon has suffered would be put back. We must translate the bitterness of our feelings into political action, and see that this man is thrust from his place by constitutional means."

The Announcement

Mrs. Lawrence then made her much-looked-for announcement. The tidings that she was once more to take an active part in the Suffrage movement as an official of the United Suffragists, coupled with the news that she and Mr. Pethick Lawrence, as proprietors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, had made the offer, which was accepted, to hand over the paper to the United Suffragists as their official organ, caused the deepest interest and aroused warm enthusiasm among the mass of the great audience that had gathered there to hear what she had come to tell them. For the first time for more than two years, as she pointed out, she stood before the public as a responsible official of a national Suffrage Society, and this necessitated her going over some of the facts which led to her severance from the W.S.P.U. in 1912.

The audience—with the exception of certain militants scattered throughout the hall, many of whom obviously did not grasp the meaning of all Mrs. Lawrence said—listened with silent attention, and showed their approval by loud and enthusiastic applause and cheers when the speech was finished. (Mrs. Lawrence's speech will be found on page 633.)

An insistent hail of questions at this point was met by Miss Lena Ashwell, who put it to the meeting—Did they want questions answered at once, or should the meeting continue and questions be reserved till the end? A great show of hands instructed the platform to continue. Mr. Harben followed with a brilliant speech, and the meeting proceeded to the end. E. I.

POINTS FROM THE SPEECHES

Miss Lena Ashwell

Miss Lena Ashwell, who was a most admirable chairman, moved the resolution before calling on Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to second it. They were all going for their holidays, she said, and leaving this vital question unsettled, leaving a number of Suffragists in prison, a number of whom had not yet been tried, nor had their case been placed before the country, and who yet were being forcibly fed. They were determined to put an end to the intolerable situation. She spoke of militancy, and the change in the meaning of the word since it had first been used to describe peaceable deputations setting out to visit Parliament. Militancy even in its present stages was not war; it was a desperate attempt to force on the attention of the country and the Government the desperate position of women under the law and their firm refusal to submit longer to such conditions. She dealt with the Government's increasing use of retaliation, and with the dangerous silence and misrepresentation of the Press. It was no use attempting to smother the Suffrage movement. It must go forward.

MR. HENRY D. HARBEN

Mr. Harben made an urgent appeal for union among all Suffragists. The danger was that the Government might try to take advantage of divisions in their ranks, and try to play off one section against another, and the only safe line was for all Suffragists, whatever their prejudices against certain bases of enfranchisement, to go wholeheartedly for whatever brand offered the best chance of success. The decision must be made before the next General Election. He was convinced that the matter would be settled immediately before or immediately after the election, and he had information that certain Liberals had at last realised that if the Conservatives were returned to power they would give women votes on a very limited basis, and then for twenty years the Liberals might wander in the wilderness.

A New Sport for Englishmen

He spoke trenchantly of the new sport for Englishmen. Beaten badly in other directions, they had now adopted a new form of sport in which other countries were unlikely to rival them, and this national game of woman-baiting had the support of the Press, the Government, and the Crown. He did not suppose the King cared about patronising the sport any more than the King of Spain loved bullfights, but as a constitutional monarch he bowed to the will of his Ministers and of the public as he saw its mind reflected in the Press.

An autumn session would not necessarily mean the cessation of militancy. Militancy would not cease for promises, only for goods delivered, and he would suggest that the first proof of sincerity to be offered by the Government was the removal of the present Home Secretary. It was significant that this suggestion was greeted with more enthusiasm than had been displayed throughout the whole enthusiastic evening.

THE VERY REV. FATHER BEDE JARRETT

Introducing the Very Reverend Father Bede Jarrett, O.P. Prior of St. Dominic's, Haverstock Hill, Miss Lena Ashwell spoke of his brilliant career at Oxford, where he was known as the Boy Preacher, and welcomed the first appearance on any Suffragist platform of this distinguished son of a great Church.

A Matter for the Individual Conscience
The Prior, who was subjected by the

more militant voices to a difficult degree of interruption, besought the patience of his audience on the two counts that he had never before been present at any meeting connected with the movement, and that he could not associate himself altogether with everything that had been said. It was only fair to say that he represented nobody. He was a Catholic priest, but he did not come in that capacity. He sympathised very keenly with the movement, he was sorry for certain things that had happened, and he considered it a matter for the individual conscience whether one supported this Society or another. He supported the movement because he considered that it made for the betterment of the womanhood and manhood of the nation. He considered it good for the temporal welfare of the Empire, and not less for its spiritual welfare that women should be enfranchised, and because he believed that woman's place was the home, he desired woman to have the vote. She represented much of the heroism of the race because to her had been given the splendid gift of motherhood. He sympathised very keenly with the movement, and supported it all the more gladly because he belonged to the great order of St. Dominic, in which Savonarola, Las Casas, and others had served—men who had braved dangers and faced death to secure for the people those precious gifts of justice, liberty, and truth that will never die.

MRS. JULIA SCURR

"We are sick of trying to administer laws made by one half of the human race while the other has had no voice in their making," said Mrs. Julia Scurr, leader of the working women's deputation to Mr. Asquith; "sick of trying to make them humane when they are not human." The economic pressure was felt more heavily in the East End than in the West, she said, and those plain working women who went to Mr. Asquith, women elected as typical representatives by great gatherings in the East End, felt afterwards that they had not told him half their story of injustice. Some of those stories Mrs. Scurr told briefly from her Poor Law experience. There was the story of the mother whose first husband was a Londoner, and her second a man from the Midlands, who found on the death of the second that she could only find shelter for herself and her children in one workhouse by separating from her eldest child and leaving it to the Poor Relief of her father's district. She told of the poverty-stricken woman who was suddenly informed by the Guardians that she must remove her children from their care; they had traced her husband's record, and found that he was a bigamist, her children illegitimate, and illegitimate children were not entitled to relief except under certain conditions. Had women been in Parliament when that law was drafted, said Mrs. Scurr, they would have foreseen the possibility of a woman's being so betrayed, and they would not have considered those children illegitimate. Men did not mean to be cruel, but they did not know. She could quote endless cases of women suffering under these man-made Poor Laws, of women rotting helplessly in the workhouse for ten, for thirteen years. One thing was certain, when the women of the East End of London got their votes they would know how to use them; they would see that women were not catered for indiscriminately in these institutions, and that they should have a say in the disposal of their own children.

MR. HENRY W. NEVINSON

Mr. Henry W. Nevins was introduced by Miss Ashwell with a reference to his successful labours in helping to free the slaves in Portuguese West Africa—"And so we find him on the side of the slaves in England to-day." He had a great reception, and made a rousing appeal to the men in the audience to come along and join a Society which turned all its guns against the Government, and admitted men on equal terms with women. This was the 65th anniversary of the day on which Garibaldi stood in front of St. Peter's at Rome and told the people he could not offer them food or pay or quarters, only hunger and thirst and forced marches and death—and a great crowd followed him. In the same way the United Suffragists did not offer to men luxury or ease, but hard work and sacrifice. Nothing in any cause was done without sacrifice. Mr. Nevins then reviewed the activities of the U.S., especially their work among the electorate.

MR. GERALD GOULD'S APPEAL

Mr. Gould then made an appeal to the men present to promise to go to the House of Commons on the following evening (Wednesday), and lobby their members on the question of forcible feeding. Some thirty offered and gave in their names.

The Resolution was passed unanimously, and a sum exceeding £450 was raised at the meeting.

QUESTIONS

At the end of the meeting Mrs. Lawrence fulfilled her promise to answer questions, and did so with great precision and clearness. A number of written questions were sent up to the platform, dealing with the policy of the United Suffragists, the more general subject of militancy and revolution, and the present political position of the movement. Many verbal questions were also put and answered, and the audience were obviously intensely interested, and waited to hear until it became absolutely necessary, the hour being past eleven, to close the meeting.

A WOMAN PIONEER

Miss Nettlefold's Success

For the first time a woman has taken both parts of the Law Tripos, and achieved brilliant success in both. Miss L. F. Nettlefold, already known to our readers as one of the four women who tried to obtain admission to the legal profession and fought the matter last year in the case known as *Bebb v. the Law Society*, has just obtained a first-class in the second part of the Law Tripos, being placed between third and fourth on the list. (The Law Tripos is the only one which still retains the order of merit.) In the first part of the Tripos, Miss Nettlefold, it will be remembered, also took a first-class and was placed between first and second on the list.

Miss Nettlefold hopes to take her LL.B. at the end of September, after which she intends to make a tour of two or three months in the United States, to make herself acquainted with the work that is being done there by the woman lawyers before being articulated herself (or the equivalent of being articulated, as the case may be) in January.

How incredible it will seem in years to come that a woman of Miss Nettlefold's attainments should not be allowed to take the degree she has won, and should further have to spend her energies in fighting for the right to enter the profession for which she has so brilliantly qualified.

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THE REVOLUTIONARIES

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragists in the Press during the week:—

Friday, July 3.—Ballymenock House, near Holywood, Belfast, destroyed by fire. Suffragist literature found.

Attempt to burn Church of Carmichael, Lanark. Suffragist literature found.

Wednesday, July 8.—Attempt to destroy Burns's cottage, at Ayr.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, July 2.—At Nottingham Police Court, charged on remand with loitering with intent to commit a felony, Irene Casey. Further remand ordered.

At the Carnarvonshire Quarter Sessions, charged with smashing windows at Oriccieth, Miss Georgina Lloyd and Miss Phyllis North. Both sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

At Edinburgh, charged with slashing a portrait of the King at the Royal Scottish Academy, Miss Maude Edwards. Three months' imprisonment.

At Belfast Judge Craig finished the hearing of claims for compensation for previous Suffragist outrages, nearly £10,000 being awarded out of the rates.

Tuesday, July 7.—At the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Avory, indicted for unlawfully inciting divers persons, Mr. Sydney Granville Drew, printer of the *Suffragette*. Found guilty and sentence postponed.

Wednesday, July 8.—At the Ayr Sheriff's Court, charged with maliciously attempting to destroy Burns's cottage, a Suffragist. Remanded.

At the Old Bailey, charged in connection with the Maida Vale flat raid, Miss Nellie Hall, who was found guilty last week, and upon whom sentence was postponed, Miss Julia Jameson, Mrs. Helen Armes, and Miss Grace Roe. Miss Jameson found not guilty and discharged. Case proceeding when we went to press.

"SUFFRAGETTE" PRINTER AT OLD BAILEY

Sentence Postponed

Last Tuesday Mr. Sidney Granville Drew, secretary and manager, was indicted at the Old Bailey before Mr. Justice Avory for inciting persons to commit damage in connection with the publication of the *Suffragette*. Mr. Drew, who pleaded not guilty, was defended by Mr. McCardie, K.C.

Mr. Bodkin's Speech

Mr. A. H. Bodkin prosecuted, and in opening the case described the charge against the defendant, and referred to the *Suffragette* as the official organ of the Women's Social and Political Union. The Union, said counsel, appeared to be a combination of women who had adopted as a means to securing their ends what was described as militancy, which consisted, according to the official organ of the body, in committing numerous acts of damage to property with a view to coercing the public, as having at present the franchise, to use their influence for the purpose of obtaining it for women.

After Mr. Bodkin's speech formal evidence was given.

FOR THE DEFENCE

What is Incitement?

Mr. McCardie, K.C., for the defence, said that the case raised a question of great importance as to what was the meaning of the word "incitement." There were two principles which appeared to be in conflict in this case. On the one hand, Mr. Bodkin said he admitted the freedom of the Press and the righteousness of that freedom which made for the welfare of the nation, but on the other hand it was the duty of the law to repress crime. Which of those two principles were they to apply? A great many of the things which had been read out from the paper were merely reports of occurrences which had been recorded in other newspapers. It would be an odd thing to convict a man of incitement in respect to matters which appeared in this paper when they were things which the whole Press of the country were entitled to publish.

The company, of which the defendant was the secretary and manager, printed 15 or 16 newspapers. Mr. Drew never wrote a line of the *Suffragette*, never corrected a line, and never set up an inch of type. Mr. Drew had never written a line in favour of militancy, and had never shown any sympathy for militancy.

THE VERDICT

Mr. Justice Avory, in summing up, said that if the paper did not contain an incitement to persons to commit crime, then it was not necessary to consider whether the defendant was a party to or privy to that incitement. But if in their opinion the paper did contain an encouragement and an incitement to crime then they would have to consider whether the defendant

was a party to and privy to it in the sense of knowing what the contents of the paper were from time to time, because, although he might in fact have published it, and although it might be reprehensible for a man to publish anything which in fact amounted to an incitement, he was not liable to be convicted on this indictment unless the evidence satisfied the jury that he knew of the contents of the paper and knew what was being printed and published in it.

The jury found the defendant guilty, and judgment was reserved.

RE-ARREST OF MRS PANKHURST

Last Wednesday morning Mrs. Pankhurst was re-arrested outside Lincoln's Inn House. She announced in a letter to the *Times* that morning her intention of returning to the headquarters of the W.S.P.U., and at midday she did so. About an hour later, on coming out again, she was arrested by a detective and police officer, and conveyed in a taxi-cab to Holloway. This is the eighth time Mrs. Pankhurst has been re-arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act; she is, therefore, now going through her ninth hunger strike since she was sentenced last year.

RE-ARREST OF MRS. DACRE FOX

Mrs. Dacre Fox, who had previously intimated to the Bishop of London her intention of seeking sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, stepped out from the nave when he was preaching there on Sunday afternoon and called upon him to stop forcible feeding. A woman in the congregation, an Anglican nun, it is said, is reported to have placed her handkerchief over the interrupter's mouth. Mrs. Dacre Fox made no resistance, and was led out quietly. Outside the Abbey she was at once re-arrested and taken away to Holloway Prison.

If the right of petition no longer exists, it is not, perhaps, to be wondered at that the right of sanctuary has gone too!

FORCIBLE FEEDING OF UNCONVICTED PRISONERS

The Bishop of London's condemnation of forcible feeding is published at an opportune moment, when every sort of influence is needed to militate against this abominable form of prison torture which is being inflicted on guilty and innocent alike.

The Unconvicted Prisoner

For in the eyes of the English law the prisoner is supposed to be innocent until he or she is convicted. But recently several of the militant Suffragists have been refused bail and have been forcibly fed while on remand and while awaiting trial.

Miss Grace Roe has been forcibly fed since May 26. She is in Holloway Gaol, awaiting her trial on a charge of conspiracy to commit damage to property. She has never been convicted of any militant action, and does not therefore come under the heading of those who Mr. McKenna has reason to suppose will commit deeds of arson if released on bail.

Miss Nellie Hall, convicted last week of being found in possession of explosives, was forcibly fed 100 times before she was brought up for trial.

Miss Georgina Lloyd and Miss Phyllis North (afterwards stated to be Miss Olive Wharry, who carried through a thirty days' hunger-strike a year ago) was convicted at the Carnarvonshire Quarter Sessions on Thursday in last week of window-breaking at Oriccieth during Mr. Lloyd George's visit, and were sentenced to three months' imprisonment. But they had been in prison a month already, and had been fed by force practically the whole of that time. This month was not even deducted from their sentences.

All these women, in the eyes of the law, were innocent. Yet they were subjected to a hideous process which the Bishop of London and the most eminent of Free Churchmen and doctors have declared to be indefensible even in the case of convicted prisoners.

WILL THE BISHOPS MOVE?

A deputation of militant Suffragists were received by the Bishop of Durham last Saturday at Durham Castle; and they laid before him facts concerning forcible feeding, particularly with regard to unconvicted prisoners. The proceedings were private, but it is stated in the *Morning Post* that the Bishop intimated that he wished nothing said at present as to his feeling on the subject, as he did not believe in hasty decision. He promised to make further investigations and to confer with other Bishops on the matter, but would go no further at present.

FREE SPEECH AND SUFFRAGE MEETINGS

We are glad to see that a drastic motion proposed at the Westminster City Council last week by Captain H. R. S. Pulman, was opposed by Mrs. Ridley Smith, Lord

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Cheyresmore, and Sir George Welby, and finally referred back to the committee responsible for the suggestion. It proposed that in future Caxton Hall should not be let to "any organization of whatever nature whose object it is to secure the vote for women."

This is the natural corollary, no doubt, of Mr. McKenna's admission in the House of Commons the other day that by the exercise of no law but that of "common sense" he had warned owners of halls against letting their halls to the W.S.P.U. Members who chuckled approvingly over this boastful announcement of speech censorship would do well to remember that curtailments of personal liberty are almost invariably followed by further curtailments. The Free Speech that is denied first to militant Suffragists will be denied next to law-abiding Suffragists, and finally—who knows?—possibly even to the very reactionaries who applauded Mr. McKenna in the House!

NO EXCUSE!

In a leading article on "Police Cells," the *Globe* uncompromisingly condemns the present condition of these, and goes on to say:—

"The blame must be laid on the parsimony of higher authorities, but, however it be apportioned, there can be no excuse for subjecting unconvicted prisoners to conditions which, to anyone of refinement, amount to a most cruel penalty."

The condition of police cells, as we have often pointed out in this paper, is certainly revolting in most cases. But if it is a "cruel penalty" to subject "unconvicted" prisoners to the unpleasantness of passing a night in one of them, what words are left for the penalty of forcible feeding, to which "unconvicted" Suffragists have recently been subjected for four and five weeks at a time, and to which some are still being subjected?

THE PRESS IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

An American View

Following upon an interview with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, a representative of the Boston *Globe* corroborates everything she had to say to him on the subject of the Press boycott in this country of the Woman Suffrage movement. She gave him as an instance of this that when Mr. Israel Zangwill made a great speech on the Suffrage at the Albert Hall not a single morning paper reported it or mentioned his name.

"That the British Press is bitterly unfair to women is borne out by my own

observation," says the correspondent of the Boston *Globe*.

"Orders have been issued in all the newspaper offices to boycott the suffrage movement. Mrs. Lawrence made this statement, and it has been confirmed since then by the statements of London newspaper men made to me. Some of them are ardent anti-suffragists, incidentally.

"Every item regarding the suffragists is handled by the editors-in-chief," they told me. "Only stories in which the suffrage movement is held up to ridicule or public dislike are permitted to appear."

"Such facts account for Mrs. Lawrence's high regard for the New York papers.

"When I visited New York," said she, "the reporters came to me asking for stories. I did not think they would appear—but I gave them the stories. To my intense surprise not only were they printed, but my language was quoted almost verbatim. In no instance was any bias or animosity shown. I never had such a surprise!"

"PAID" MILITANTS

We have received a letter, without address but bearing a foreign postmark, from Mr. Edwy Clayton, who, it will be remembered, was sentenced to twenty-one months' imprisonment last year in connection with the Conspiracy Trial of the W.S.P.U. officials, and was afterwards released on licence under the Cat and Mouse Act and has not been re-arrested. He writes to say with reference to the Home Secretary's recent allusions to "paid" militant Suffragists, that the similar implications of the prosecution, in his own case at his own trial last year, were utterly unfounded.

"I neither received," he writes, "nor desired to receive, payment for any assistance given by me to the women's movement. My sole reward has been the happiness derived from personal participation, as a volunteer helper, in this campaign against prejudice, ignorance, disease, and brutality."

THE SAME OLD STORY

"I am old enough," said Mr. Keir Hardie at Manchester last Sunday, "to remember the fight for votes for working men. I remember the fight in 1866, and as a young man took an active part in the agitation which gave votes to workers in the counties in 1884. The same arguments were used then against working men as are being used now against women."

Most of us are old enough to remember reaction in some other form, and none of us is young enough to have avoided meeting with prejudice!

CORRESPONDENCE

FROM LADY CONSTANCE LYTTON

A Correction

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN

Dear Editors,—I have received a letter from Miss Ellen C. McKee, a representative of the Corporation of the City of London, on the Central Unemployed Body since its inception in 1905, and a member of the Women's Work Committee of that body. She pointed out that in my book, "Prisons and Prisoners" (page 105), I was told at the interview I had in Holloway Prison, 1909, that the women's workrooms of the Central Unemployed Body had been closed on the ground of their not being self-supporting. This, I understand from her, was not the case. No women's workroom of the C.U.B. was closed at any time until the Coronation year, 1911. Then, and since, they have been closed only for one month in each year, viz., June, there being a great demand for women workers at that time. The closing of one of these workrooms was thought advisable by some, but never done.

On receipt of this information I made inquiries of the lady with whom I had the interview. She writes: "I remember our conversation at Holloway. I was referring to a great deputation of working women which I led to the Guildhall. Actually a resolution was before the committee to close the women's workrooms. I sent in the forenoon to say that we would come. I was told I should not be received; but I was, and I voiced the fears of the women. The result was a vigorous debate and defeat of the resolution."

The mistake was mine; I thought my informant referred to the closing down as having taken place; she spoke only of the extreme fear of it.

I most sincerely apologise to the Central Unemployed Body and to those who have read "Prisons and Prisoners" for this grievous mistake, and I am grateful to Miss McKee for pointing it out to me. The whole paragraph shall be omitted if my book reaches a second edition.—Yours, &c., CONSTANCE LYTTON.

July 6, 1914.

WOMEN CIGARETTE PACKERS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I noticed in your last week's issue an account of the deputation to Mr. Asquith, and that one woman said she used to work in a cigarette factory and pack cigarettes at 3d. per 1,000. In your account you mention this, and say it would work out something under 1s. per day.

I have had over fifteen years' experience in the tobacco trade, and can unhesitatingly say that this estimate is quite incorrect. Packing by hand a girl can do at least 18,000 cigarettes per day, and many can do their 20,000 with ease in a working day of eight hours. Taking the very highest grade of cigarettes, those which require special packing and placing and necessitate the writing of complaint tickets for enclosure, any girl who is accustomed to the work can pack 12,000 per day. This being so, you can see that the 3d. per 1,000 works out at a very fair day's wage, and therefore there should have been no cause for any complaint in her case. I shall be very glad if you will kindly insert this letter in your next issue in fairness to the manufacturer in question, and also perhaps it may be the means of inviting further correspondence on the subject, which is of great interest to myself.—Yours, &c.,

A. R. TOWERLEY.

17, Royal York Crescent, Clifton, Bristol, July 1, 1914.

[We are glad to publish our correspondent's letter and to learn that it is possible for some women to pack from 18,000 to 20,000 cigarettes a day. His facts do not, however, tally with those in our possession. The woman whose words we quote in our account of the East End Deputation to Mr. Asquith said that in the morning, when the women were fresh, it was possible to pack 2,000 cigarettes before lunch; in the afternoon they worked less fast and could only pack about 1,500.—Ed., VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

THE EAST LONDON SUPFRAGETTES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Certain newspapers appear anxious to place me in the position of the little girl who never went astray, which is a role that I have never been anxious to adopt. Both I and the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, to which I belong, are of opinion that it takes all kinds of militancy to win votes for the women of this country.

We carry on our own militant fight in the way we think suited to ourselves.

We have no criticism but only sympathy for other women who are fighting to obtain the franchise.—Yours, &c.,

E. SYLVIA PARKHURST.

BACK NUMBERS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—One hears of back numbers of Suffrage papers being used to light fires. What waste!

May I suggest a very easy manner of reaching people who are otherwise unapproachable by means of these same back numbers? It is a method which is particularly adapted to big towns, where it seems a hopeless task to get Suffrage literature into the hands of the masses, whose votes will all count at the next General Election. I choose a decent little shop in a very poor neighbourhood and make purchases there. After a visit or two, I ask if they would like a little clean waste paper, as I have some to spare. Then I take, or send, a bundle of back numbers, with the fastenings carefully removed, if there are any, and the sheets laid loose and flat before being rolled up.

The people who deal at these shops almost invariably read the paper in which their purchases are wrapped, and in one page of a Suffrage paper is often contained as much matter as in half a dozen leaflets. Also no one can object to news obtained in this manner being read, while many might object to a leaflet being accepted. Don't say, in a hesitating manner, "May I send you some Suffrage back numbers?" as it is never wise to suggest doubt. The shops to which I now supply bundles at intervals are two greengrocers, one small dairy shop, one butcher, one fishmonger, and a florist. Ironmongers, cobblers, old clothes dealers, and general shops are likely places to try. It is better to find out if the shopkeeper is good-natured, if possible.

Two or three subscribers might club their back numbers together if one would undertake to find the shops. It is best, I think, to scatter the shops about a neighbourhood, rather than to supply several in one street, as a wider public is reached. On application to the offices of the various papers there will be no difficulty in obtaining spare copies, sometimes merely for the cost of carriage, at other times a small charge may be made. It does not matter how old the back numbers are. All are full of information, and it is ignorance which is our chief enemy.—Yours, &c.,

FLORENCE R. GILCH.

50, Adelaide Road, South Hampstead, N.W.

FAITH ON THE KERBSTONE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Will you allow me to prophesy that when women are enfranchised and historians are summing up the history of the movement, it will not be necessarily the hunger-strikers, or those who have been forcibly fed, or those who have given large sums to the cause, or those who write, or those who speak on Woman Suffrage whom they will commend most for the women's victory—it will be the women who in fair and dirty weather stand in the gutter or on the kerb, and sell Suffrage papers that they will award the palm to, and I think on reflection that most of your readers will agree that that will be just.

I happen to know that many Anti-Suffragists hate the paper-sellers more than anyone connected with the movement. "The thing would die down," they growl, "but for these women who sell the papers."

When I asked a woman what she did towards obtaining woman's enfranchisement she replied, "Oh, I only stand in the gutter and sell the papers." She little knows the praise posterity will bestow on her.—Yours, &c.,

ROBSON PAIGE.

London, S.W.

CHILD SLAVES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—For years I have often had the pleasure of meeting you. (As Mark Twain said of himself and the King: "You were at the head of the procession, I was at the back of the crowd.")

In your splendid paper of June 12, there is an article on "Child Slaves." Mr. Lloyd George said in the House of Commons: "It is computed that there are at least 600,000 children who attend school in a semi-starved condition." He repeated it a few weeks ago at Denmark Hill. Bernard Shaw wrote (in "Candidates"): "Would you stand and talk about different things if a child were by, crying bitterly with hunger?" Yet not one of these M.P.'s, well fed and perhaps with well-fed, happy children, said one word of sympathy with the 600,000, or the poor mothers.

After much thought I have promised to consult the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Would it be possible to prosecute the State (or Mr. Lloyd George) for cruelty to children? If the "child belongs to the State," and women have no vote, the mothers should at least have this remedy for the sufferings of their children—these "semi-starved" child slaves.—Yours, &c.,

PETER PAN.

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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

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President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

The Annual General Meeting was held at 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, on Tuesday, July 7, when the Secretary's and Treasurer's Reports were read and adopted, and the following members elected to serve on the Committee for the year ending July, 1915:—Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Inez Bensusan, Miss Nina Boucicault, Miss Compton, Mrs. Culling, Miss Darragh, Mrs. Fagan, Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Decima Moore, Miss Eva Moore, Miss Edyth Olive, Mrs. M. L. Ryley, Miss Blanche Stanley, Miss Janette Steer, and Miss May Whitty.

The Stall at the White City is doing excellent work. Miss Virginia Seagraeve is in permanent charge, and on the opening day Miss Edyth Olive presided over the proceedings. On Friday, Miss Sadie Jerome took charge, and on Saturday Miss Winifred Mayo. For this week the Stall is kept by Miss Inez Bensusan (Monday), Miss Gertrud Hepworth (Tuesday), Miss Alys Rees (Wednesday), Miss Decima Moore (Thursday), Miss Edith Anton Laing (Friday), Miss Edith Craig (Saturday). Will members kindly send in their names for this work soon, as we are anxious to fit in all who offer their services, and some organisation is necessary to prevent overlapping?

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Mrs. Elaine Whelan
Mr. John Scurr

Mr. H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer
Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Hon. Secretary
Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join US (United Suffragists)

Kingsway Hall Meeting.—A full account of this will be found on page 635, and of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech on page 633. Her special announcement at the meeting is also discussed in our Outlook.

Members' Meetings.—These will be held on Thursday at 8.15 p.m., at 3, Adam Street, on July 9, 16, and 23, after which they will be suspended until after the summer holidays. Speakers, July 9, Mrs. Ayrton Gould and others. All friends are welcome.

Speakers' Class.—Every Tuesday, same address, 8.15 p.m. Conducted by Miss Winifred Mayo. Fees: Members, 2s. 6d. for ten lessons; non-members, 3s. 6d. Single lessons, 6d.

Edinburgh Branch.—It has been decided to open the Shop and Office in October, when the new branch will be formally initiated by several large meetings. Members are joining fast, and all who wish to do so, whether men or women, are asked to communicate with the Hon. Sec., Edinburgh U.S., 50A, Frederick Street, Edinburgh.

Stroud Branch.—Hon. Sec. Miss Edelmänn (Whiteway, Stroud). A meeting has been arranged to-day (Friday), at which Mr. Henry W. Nevinston will speak to the Stroud Trades Council.

Amersham Branch.—Hon. Sec., Mrs. Drinkwater (Fieldtop, Amersham). A number of U.S. speakers and workers co-operated in the Bucks Suffrage Week, organised last week by Mrs. Agnes Harben, culminating on Saturday in a crowded and most successful fête at Newlands Park.

South London Election Campaign.—Open-air meetings at 8.15 p.m. Monday, July 13, corner of Heygate Street and Walworth Road; Miss Ennis and Miss Rorison. Tuesday, July 14, Friar Street, West Southwark; Miss Somers and Mr. Mackinlay.

Badges.—In addition to the two enamel badge brooches already on sale (large 6d., small 1s.), we have now a cheaper button brooch in the colours, price 2d.

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PAPER-SELLING REPORT

We have had a double sale of our double number. Can we look to Fellows to keep up this increase? It is only a question of enough helpers with sufficient determination. The public are ready enough to buy. Many regular and occasional meetings have to be left paperless for want of sellers.

During July and August Miss Ella Young has kindly consented to act as paper-selling organiser, and will deal with all communications re paper-selling.

OUR FOREIGN VISITORS

A number of distinguished Suffragists from abroad have met in London this week. Many of these, including Mrs. Chapman Catt, the well-known American Suffragist, Miss Furuhjelm, the Finnish M.P., Miss

Signe Bergman, chief cashier of the State Bank in Stockholm, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the first woman doctor in Holland, have come for the meetings of the Board of Officers of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance. Others, who are delegates from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa, are here for the first Conference of the Woman Suffrage Alliance, British Dominions Overseas, to be held on Thursday after we go to press. In connection with the Overseas Conference, the Women's Tax Resistance League gave an interesting welcome gathering, by kind permission of Lady Brassey, at her house in Park Lane last Monday; and the Actresses' Franchise League are giving an entertainment at the reception in their honour on Thursday evening this week.

Several of the foreign delegates were present at the meeting of the United Suffragists in the Kingsway Hall on Tuesday last.

Entertained by Tax Resistors

At Lady Brassey's on Monday evening a large number of very militant tax-resistors, some twelve or more, narrated their experiences with Treasury officials, magistrates, and auctioneers, by way of a welcome to the visitors from the British Dominions Overseas. And very thoroughly the visitors enjoyed hearing these experiences, punctuated as they were by many a gleam of humour induced by the helplessness of law and order when confronted by citizens of some position who were not in the least afraid of any of the penalties resultant upon refusing to pay taxes when not accompanied by representation.

The delegates who replied to the welcome accorded to them were Mrs. Taylor, of South Africa, Mrs. Cooper, of New Zealand, Mrs. Ransom, of Australia, and Mrs. Leathes, of Canada.

Lady Brassey, in her opening remarks, said it was not till she went to Australia that she became a Suffragist. It was difficult to make women realise the position of their sex in this country. A prominent and well-known lady in social life in England came round to their way of thinking after spending two days in a police-court and seeing and hearing the injustice and inequality of sentences. (Hear, hear.) One had to go to the real side of life to become convinced of the need of the vote. (Hear, hear.) Tax resistance was absolutely legitimate, and the right way of protest.

SOUTHEAST HAMPSHIRE

Mrs. Kineton Parkes and Mr. Laurence Housman were the speakers at the meeting which followed a sale of tax resistors' goods at Southend last week, and a very large crowd listened with interest and attention to the facts and conclusions laid before them. The two women who had refused on this occasion to pay their taxes as a protest against non-representation were Mrs. Douglas Hamilton, who was assessed on the free Convalescent Home for Tired Workers and their Families from the East End, which she has given to Southend, and Mrs. Sky, who has owned her house and shop in the town for over twenty years. The Government should surely pay heed to the tax resistance of such valuable women citizens as these.

MEN'S FEDERATION CIRCUIT

The Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage has just completed the first month of its propaganda circuit of London. Open-air meetings have been held in Palmer's Green, Wood Green, Tottenham, and Amhurst Park; and at every place attentive audiences have listened with the utmost interest to those conducting the campaign, who include the Rev. F. R. Swan, the Rev. C. A. Wills, Mr. Mark Wilks, Mr. Victor Prout, and Dr. Macpherson. Very little opposition has been met with, and it is the opinion of the Federation that in all these places the woman's cause has gained enormous ground. In the coming month meetings are planned for Clapton, Hackney, and Old Ford, and Mr. John Scurr and Mr. H. W. Nevinston are to be added to the speakers.

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE

A Good Annual Report

We learn from the annual report, just issued, of the Irish Women's Franchise League, that a great deal has been done during the past year to advance the women's cause in Ireland. The League has initiated and carried on a vigorous policy of heckling, by which means members of Parliament have been reminded for the first time in their own constituencies of the claims of Irishwomen. In addition, several of the members have suffered imprisonment for militant protests, and have fought for, and won by means of the hunger-strike the rights of political prisoners.

Cat and Mouse Act in Ireland

The report continues: "Our League has also foiled the attempt of the Government to enforce the Cat and Mouse Act in this country, and the magnificent public spirit aroused by this attempt has strongly reinforced the ranks of militancy in Ireland, while many recent events have immensely strengthened our hold upon the popular mind in Ireland. The working classes particularly have shown themselves friendly, and have rallied to our support whenever called upon."

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Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage.
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society.
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

East London Federation of the Suffragettes.
321, Roman Road, Bow, E.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies.
31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

Forward Gymnastic Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage.
Walden, Gloucester.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society.
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop.
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance.
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club.
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irishwomen's Franchise League.
Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League.
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation.
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society.
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage.
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice.
22, South Molton Street, W.

Liberal Men's Suffrage Society.
31, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

Liberal Women's Suffrage Union.
Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage.
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps.
Dunton, Petworth, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.
Temp. Address: 49, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage.
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Emancipation.
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights.
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Munster Women's Franchise League.
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society.
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League.
Bank Buildings, 14, 15, James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
11, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage.
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage.
2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League.
46, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.

Suffrage Atelier.
Studio: 6, St. Luke Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

"Suffrage First" Committee.
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Suffrage Service League.
23, Broadway, Westminster.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee.
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Theosophical Suffrage Society.
19, Tavistock Square, W.C.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies.
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

United Suffragists.
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship.
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
Lancashire Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell,
Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancs.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society.
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League.
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom.
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union.
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League.
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union.
37, Marlite Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League.
Goschen Buildings, Hendon Street, W.C.

COMING EVENTS

**"Votes for Women" Fellowship
Lancashire Centre**
Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate,
Ainsdale, Lancashire.

There will be a meeting on Saturday,
July 11, on the Fair Ground, Southport,
at 3.30 p.m.

By kind permission of the Misses Ryley,
at 46, Grosvenor Road, Birkdale, at 3.30
p.m., a monologue by Miss Evelyn Glover,
entitled "Showin' Samyol," will be per-
sonified by Miss Olive Turpin. Vocalist:
Miss Jean Evans. Collection on behalf of
Fellowship funds. Non-members, please
apply to the Misses Ryley at address stated
for invitation. Only a limited number
available.

There will be a meeting on Saturday,
July 18, at the entrance to Waverley
Playground, Smithdown Road, Liverpool,
at 8 p.m.

Other Meetings

The proposed New Woman Suffrage
Union, British Dominion Overseas,
will hold a conference at the West-
minster Palace Hotel on Thursday, July 9.
Speakers: Miss Margaret Hodge, Mrs.
Fethick Lawrence, Lady Aberconway, the
Rev. F. M. Green, and many others. At
8.30 there will be a reception to meet the
President and Officers of the International
Women's Suffrage Alliance. Tickets, 2s.
and 1s., can be obtained from Miss H. C.
Newcomb, 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly.

The Men's Political Union will hold a
public meeting at the Kensington Town
Hall on Friday, July 10, at 8 p.m.
Speakers: Mr. F. Moxon, M.B., B.S., Mr.
Ernest Duval, Rev. C. A. Wills, and Mrs.
J. A. Bouvier. Chair: Mr. Victor Duval.

The New Constitutional Society's annual
sale of flowers, fruit, and vegetables will
be opened by Miss Lena Ashwell at 3 p.m.,
on Tuesday, July 14, at the N. O. Hall,
Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

"TIGER"

"Tiger" is like a flashlight thrown on
a dung-heap. It is a play, the date of its
action being "To-night," setting forth an
incident connected with the White Slave
Traffic; an incident possibly fictitious, but
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play, very short, is dramatic, concisely con-
structed, and fitted to appeal not only to
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agination needs stimulating. G.

"Tiger." By Witter Bynner. (London: D. J.
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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s., 1d. per word for every additional word (four insertions for the price of three).

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, S.W.—11.30, Mr. Henry Proctor; 7, Miss Villa Faulkner Page, New York, Doré Gallery, 85, New Bond Street, W., 11.15, Miss Villa Faulkner Page.

ST. MARY-AT-HILL—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

MISS LENA ASHWELL will open the New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage Sale of Garden and Dairy Produce on Tuesday, July 14, at 3 p.m., in the New Constitutional Hall, Knightsbridge. Hostess, Mrs. Craig McKerron. Strawberry and Cream Tea, 1s.

DEATHS.

AULD—On the 1st of July, at 19, Cranhurst, Road, Cricklewood, N.W. Mary, the beloved mother of Constance and Winifred Auld.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerrard.

ALL SUFFRAGETTES should visit Brighton.—Board-Residence at Miss Turner's, Sea View, Victoria Road. Nat. Tel.: 1702. Garden bedrooms, vegetarian dishes, home-made bread.

BOURNEMOUTH—Comfortable Apartments. Cooking a speciality, vegetarian if required. One minute from splendid golf links; close to sea and shops.—Miss E., "Allandale," 8, Buchanan Avenue.

BRIGHTON—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s. weekly.—Mrs. Gray, W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

HOLIDAY HOME, 15s.; speaker or Organiser preferred; country town; lovely scenery; 25 miles from Salisbury.—Mrs. H. Foot, Mere, Wilts.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

WEST HEATH HOSTEL, Lyndale, Hampstead.—Designed to give freedom and comfort to visitors or workers. Lovely garden. Telephone 5497 Hampstead.—Apply, Mrs. Errol Boyd.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

CHELTHAM.—Small Nurseries, going concerns; six heated greenhouses, about 1 acre ground, stabling, &c.; residence suitable for pupils, eight bedrooms; stock, in perfect order, at valuation.—Owner, Granley Nurseries, Cheltenham.

FLAT TO LET, furnished; 2 bedrooms, kitchen, sitting-room, use of bath-room, electric light. Would let for whole of August and 2 weeks in September. Moderate terms.—Box 576, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

FOR AUGUST—Furnished flat; self-contained; ground floor; garden overlooking tennis courts; 4 large rooms, lounge hall and ante-room, 40ft by 10ft; bathroom; ten minutes tube ride from Piccadilly; 2s. weekly.—Mrs. Ayres Purdie, 3, Kingsway.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

SCOTLAND, FIFESHIRE—To let, furnished Villa, self-contained; 3 public, 5 bedrooms, dressing-room, bathroom, kitchen; servants' accommodation; modern conveniences; August onwards; golf; two miles safe, sandy beach.—Somerville, Leven.

SOMERSET—Gentlewoman wishes let 2 large south Rooms, unfurnished (use kitchen, bathroom) to another of quiet habits; shady garden; 7s. 6d. weekly to Suffragist.—Box 332, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

EDUCATIONAL

ADA MOORE—Lessons in Singing, Voice Production, Diction. Visits Brighton, Winchester weekly; West End Studio, 153, Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, London, S.W.

MODERN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Letchworth.—Principal, Miss Cartwright, M.A.; staff includes specialists and University graduates; pupils prepared for professional entrance examinations; bracing moorland air; home comforts.

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MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Chalet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

RUSKIN SCHOOL-HOME (for girls and boys). Write for prospectus.—Bellerby Lowerison, Heacham-on-Sea, Norfolk.

PROFESSIONAL

TO GIRLS seeking a healthful and attractive calling.—Anstey College for Physical Training and Hygiene, Chester Road, near Birmingham. Offers a full professional training in Swedish, educational, and medical gymnastics, dancing, swimming, games, anatomy, hygiene, &c. Health students also received. Special treatment for curvatures, anæmia, &c. Good posts obtained after training.

BOOKS

64-PAGE BOOK about HERBS and HOW TO USE THEM, free. Send for one.—Trimmell, The Herbalist, 144, Richmond Road, Cardiff. Established 1879.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

YOUNG LADY, experienced Certificated Masseuse, seeks Temporary or Permanent Engagement. Would also act Companion-Help. Vegetarian preferred.—Miss Johnson, 157, College Street, Long Eaton, Derbyshire.

TRAVEL

ALPINE SWISS TOUR (August).—More members desired to join party conducted by excellent linguist, with thorough knowledge of country.—Madame Spencer, Bellavista, Hendon, N.W.

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INCOME TAX.—Why pay it? Reclaim if paid. We have reclaimed thousands of pounds. Booklet free.—Income-tax Payers' Reclamation Agency, 43, Earlsfield Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.

JOHN GOW, LIMITED, the well-known City Fishmongers and Poulterers, have a West End Branch at 13, Connaught Street, Hyde Park. Telephone: Padd. 6753.

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